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ROLL OF THE HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES

OF

RICHARD DE SWINFIELD,

BISHOP OF HEREFORD,

DURING PART OF THE YEARS 1289 AND 1290.

ABSTRACT, ILLUSTRATIONS, GLOSSARY, AND INDEX.

EDITED BY

THE REV. JOHN WEBB, M.A., F.S.A., M.R.S.L.



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Abstract and Illustrations.

THE title of this document, announcing that it contains an account of the household expenses of Richard, Bishop of Hereford, drawn up by John de Kemeseye, his chaplain, from Friday, the morrow after the feast of Saint Michael, 1289, to the said feast, 1290, presents several matters for inquiry and explanation.

Before we enter upon its details, it may be observed, that the style of living and scale of expenditure here exhibited obviously suggest some investigation as to the origin of those means by which such an establishment was supported. The information to be obtained upon this subject is far from ample, but may be sufficient to afford a cursory view of this bishopric at a remote period, and some of the various changes it had undergone in arriving at the condition in which it existed under Richard de Swinfield.

As in every stage of society man must derive his primary sustenance from the earth and the waters, so in early and uncivilised times they were the most advantageously circumstanced who enjoyed the widest range of field, forest, and river; and princes, whose territories were wide in proportion to their population, made ample gifts to those whom they desired to establish in consequence and dependence. This was especially the case with regard to the Church, where Christianity prevailed, for they were influenced by the belief that what they conferred upon it was given to God and for their own eternal welfare.

The lawyers of the time of Edward III. in their statute *de provisoribus*, have delivered the following emphatic judgment on the general question of episcopacy in this island, its establishment and ends, chiefly in contravention to the attempted claims of Rome. "That the holy Church of England was founded in the estate of prelacy by the ancient kings of England, and by the earls, barons, and nobles of the realm, to inform them and the people of England in the law of God, and to do hospitalities, alms-deeds, and other works of charity, in the places where churches were founded, and that certain ample possessions were assigned to the prelates of that Church

by the founders for the good purposes aforesaid."* In conformity with this declaration, the condition of the Church of Hereford, at the æra of which we are treating, gave clear testimony to the liberal piety of its founders by the extensiveness of its lands. The diocese itself was richly endowed by nature and enviably situated. Those of Saint Asaph, Lichfield, Worcester, Llandaff, and Saint David's were its neighbours. On the north it stretched from where the Severn enters Shropshire to where that river is joined on the south by the influx of the Wye. From the west to the east perhaps its greatest width might have been found from a point where the latter river, near Hay, leaves the counties of Radnor and Brecon, by a line drawn to the bridge at Gloucester. It embraced portions of the counties of Radnor, Montgomery, Salop, Worcester, and Gloucester, and touched upon that of Brecon. It included the town of Monmouth, with four parishes in its neighbourhood. The Severn environed its upper part: almost midway it was traversed by the Teme, and the Wye pursued its endless windings through the lower district. A region altogether remarkable for its variety, fertility, and beauty, abounding in woods and streams, rich pastures, extensive forests, and noble mountains. In several of the finest parts of it episcopal manors had been allotted, furnishing abundant supplies to the occupiers of the see.

The bishopric of Hereford, at the time to which the Roll refers, is commonly believed to have been established upwards of six hundred years; but its true origin seems lost in remoter antiquity. The Welsh, indeed, have asserted a claim antecedent to all others, and affirm that a Bishop of Hereford was among the prelates who attended at a conference with Augustine in the former part of the seventh century, when they disowned the authority of that missionary and of the Pope.† Should this be questionable, it is at least a curious fact that the bishops themselves, long after the Norman Conquest, derived their title to the chase on the western slope of Malvern Hill from one of the native princes of Britain, at a time when this territory formed part of their domains;‡ and if such had really been the case, it was but the re-establishment of it as a separate see that was effected by the Saxons; when upon the great increase of converts to Christianity

* Statutes of the Realm, 25 Ed. III. Madox, Hist. of the Exchequer, 4to. i. 304.

† Bede, Eccl. Hist. b. ii. c. 2. Iolo MSS. p. 588.

‡ Reg. Trefnant Episc. Heref. ff. 131 b, 132 a.

among the pagan inhabitants in this extremity of western Mercia, at a council held under Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury, it was one of five into which the enormous diocese of Lichfield was divided. This occurred about the year 676;* and Putta, a Bishop of Rochester, who had been expelled by stress of war, became the first of the Saxon series of the diocesans of Hereford.† It appears but just that Eadilred, King of Mercia, whose victorious arms had expelled him when he ravaged Kent, should have afforded Putta such a compensation by permitting him to settle anew in his own dominions.

No particulars are now extant relative to its original establishment, but a few scattered notices point out certain donors, and mark its possession of certain estates, so that, even from slight memoranda of what had been occasionally lost and restored, it may be inferred how richly it had been once endowed. Besides the Chase under Malvern Hill, the earliest gift of which we have any intimation, Offa, who died in 796, bequeathed to the church a part of his lands round the city of Hereford; and Brompton, who wrote about the reign of Edward I. says it enjoyed them to his day.‡ Egwin, a contemporary chieftain, gave Ledbury North with all its appurtenances;§ and Edmund Ironsides, in 1016, left to it the valuable manor of Ross.‖ Of Ethelstan, the twenty-fifth bishop, it is related that he

* Beda, l. iv. c. 12. By others it is placed at A.D. 680. Collier, Eccl. Hist. 8vo. i. 252.

† Bede's account is, that Putta went to Sexwulf, Bishop of the Mercians, and having received of him a certain church and a small spot of land, ended his days there in peace.

‡ Chron. in X. Script. Twysden, c. 754.

§ This noble Saxon who, according to the historian, had been relieved of a paralytic affection at the shrine of Saint Ethelbert, and in consequence gave this manor, did not resign it to the church without strong expressions of natural feeling and pious gratitude. Health, which more than any thing under heaven he coveted, had been restored to him; and therefore this, which of all earthly possessions he loved best, he consecrated to God and the martyr. The writer has apparently preserved the precise words of the deed. *Quia rem sub cœlo quam maxime desiderabam, sanitatem scilicet, contulit mihi martyr insignis, re a me ideo quam in terris plus dilexi, Lidburia videlicet, dignus est imperpetuum remunerari.* It was the first offering of the kind that had been made since Ethelbert had become the patron saint. *Hæc autem prima terrarum omnium, ut asserunt, fuit, quæ Ethelberto collatæ fuerunt.* Id. c. 753.

‖ G. Mapes de nugis curialium. Camd. ed. Wright, p. 207.

deceased at his manor of Bosbury in 1056. After the death of Leofgar, who was bishop only for a few weeks, and was slain in an irruption of Gryffydd and Bleddyn, princes of Wales, there was an avoidance from 1056 to 1059, and in the confusion and struggles that prevailed there can be no doubt that the lands in general were desolated, and some alienated. From Domesday it is certain that Walter, who succeeded Leofgar, had been unjustly deprived by Harold of the manors of Eaton, Colwall, part of Ledbury, Coddington, Hampton, and Sugwas, the whole of which the Conqueror restored.* Most of these damages had therefore probably been repaired. Geoffrey de Glyve, chaplain to Henry I. who died in 1119, is said to have brought all the buildings and landed estates into good order, wasted and spoiled as they had been in the time of his predecessors.† Some amends were also afterwards made by Roger Earl of Hereford, a great benefactor, who among other grants gave back the *Hayes* or woods of Ross, which were probably included in the gift of Edmund, and, as he affirmed in his charter, had been lost.‡ The injuries inflicted upon the see might have been the reason why Gerard, who had placed the crown upon the head of Henry I. and was the immediate predecessor of Glyve, was dissatisfied with Hereford, though the king offered to make it more valuable than the archbishopric of York.§ But that was the post to which he aspired, and which he subsequently obtained.

It cannot be concealed that amidst the natural advantages that have been alluded to, and the occasional restorations and augmentations that it had experienced, the very situation of this bishopric, lying so much among the ferocious Marchmen, and exposed to the inroads of the Welsh and the ravages of border hostilities, rendered its possessions and the persons of the temporary occupants highly insecure, especially in stormy times. During the agitation in Stephen's reign, and afterwards during the Barons' wars, under John and Henry III. the bishop was occasionally compelled to

* Domesday Book, ff. 181 b, 182 a. † Godwin, ed. 1615, p. 454.

‡ *Hayas de Ros, quas ante tempus meum amiserat, cum omni plenitudine et dominio venationis, et aliarum rerum ecclesiæ ipsius* (sc. episcopi) *restituo.* Reg. Swinf. f. 15 a. The bishop was Gilbert Foliot, who was preferred to this see A.D. 1149, and governed it about 12 years.—Godwin.

§ G. Mapes, ut supra, p. 224.

seek his safety in flight or concealment. In what had happened during the times of Betun, in the former century, and afterwards in those of Bruse, Aquablanca, Breton, and Cantilupe,—the three latter within little more than 40 years preceding the consecration of Swinfield,—may be seen how much had been suffered from aggression and persecution. Betun, a timid character, was weary of his charge, and hid himself for a while, and Bruse was expelled the realm.* Aquablanca, a foreigner, patronised by Henry III. who sat from 1239 to 1268, though he was of a roving disposition, eager for change, and inclining rather to the mere ecclesiastical than truly sacerdotal character, had in truth no great reason to be attached to Hereford, or any of his residences on the borders. Like others of his rank he had canonically pledged himself to personal attendance on the duties of the mother church as well as of the see. But, looking at the man and the circumstances of the times, it ceases to be matter of wonder that he should have failed in this respect. Party ran high. In politics he was on the royal side; but Simon de Montfort and his adherents were in arms against the king, and he had great reason to dread them. One of these nobles in particular, John FitzAlan, Lord of Arundel and Clun, was a dangerous neighbour to Bishop's Castle, an episcopal mansion on the confines of Wales.

On April 15, 1263, Prince Edward, then at Shrewsbury, addressed a letter to his father requesting him to command Aquablanca to abide in his castle of Ledbury North for the better security of the March in that quarter.† Whether the King took the hint and issued the order or otherwise, the Bishop was apparently too wary, or wanted resolution, to comply with it; he was neither resident in his castle nor near his cathedral; for when Henry came to the city during the following June, he addressed a letter of sharp rebuke to him upon this score. He told him that, upon his arrival in Hereford, to take order for disposing of the garrisons in the Marches of Wales, he found neither bishop, official, nor dean, to exercise any spiritual function in the church; and that the canons, who were wont to serve therein day and night, and ought to exercise works of charity, had forsaken it, and led their lives at a distance: he commanded him, therefore, all excuses apart, to repair thither, and assured him that, upon his failure to do so, he would take into his hands all the temporal goods belonging to the

* Anglia Sacra, p. ii. p. 314.

† Royal Letters in Tower of London, No. 64.

barony, which his forefathers had, with godly devotion, given and bestowed for spiritual exercises there.* The threat was not in vain, and appears to have recalled him; but, as it fell out, the execution of part of that threat devolved upon others. The temper of the contending parties was such after all that neither Hereford nor his fortress at Bishop's Castle could afford him any shelter. He was seized by the Barons in the cathedral, robbed of his moveable goods and treasure before his eyes, and long confined in the castle of Eardisley.† In the meantime the fate of Bishop's Castle may be learned from a contemporary estimate of losses incurred at that place, which shows very expressively the disordered state of the country.

"On the Thursday next after the translation of the blessed Saint Thomas the Martyr, in the 47th year of the reign of King Henry, Sir John Fitz-Alan, Lord of Arundel, coming to Bishop's Castle, took there the said castle, and the constable was treacherously slain. Item, in the said castle they found 13 beeves, 2 wagons, and 2 carts, and one white mare. Item, they found 32 horse-loads of wheat, which the Lord Bishop sent thither, and all the produce of one year from 2 plough-lands in the barn, and the crop of the second year fit to cut upon the land. Item, of armour 6 hauberks, one of them without a hood, 6 skull-caps of iron, one pair of housings, and an iron surcoat belonging to the Bishop; 6 cross-bows, sound and good, with bawdricks, and a tierce of quarrels, and the constable's horse. The damages aforesaid are valued at 200 marks. Item, the damage of houses destroyed at the castle and Ledbury, and of timber that lay at the back of the castle, is valued at 200 marks. Item, the destruction of woods is valued at 100 marks. Item, the issue of the manor for six years, excepting six weeks, during which time the castle and land were in the hands of John Fitz-Alan, is valued at 560 marks. The sum is 1060 marks over and above the death of the constable."‡

Another lawless baron, Hamon Lestrange, who had espoused the King's cause, and was made castellan of Salop, Bridgnorth, and Montgomery,§

* Wilkins, Concilia, i. p. 761. † Stowe, Chron. in an. 1263.

‡ Reg. Swinf. f. 25 a. The singular makeweight of the death of the castellan, inserted among damages, may call to mind the pecuniary mulcts that were of old exacted for personal injuries and murders. No portion of this valuation was probably ever paid; but it stood upon record as a bad debt to the see.

§ Dugdale, Baron. i. p. 664, c. b.

under the cloak of authority, in the following year (1263), seized upon Chastrok, Aston, and Muleton, three vills appertaining to the Bishop's manor of Ledbury North, which he pretended were part of the honour of Montgomery.* Thus they became alienated, if not entirely, at least for many years, and at length fell into the hands of Llywelyn, the last Prince of Wales.† His occupation of them was opposed by Cantilupe, who repeatedly applied to him by letter, and called in the Archbishop of Canterbury to his aid. The Welshman, however, pleading long possession, while with a show of candour he proposed his willingness to submit to inquiry, continued to defer and shuffle till he was threatened with excommunication.‡ It is doubtful whether he ever resigned them: the war that ensued, and the fatal day at Builth, put an end to that and every other question with his life.§

In the same exposed quarter during the misrule of Henry III. another attempt at spoliation had been made. This Cantilupe had however corrected. Henry Corbet had taken possession of one hundred acres of meadow land belonging to the see, in Wentnor, adjoining to his lordship of Caus, which Peter, his son, was compelled in 1276 to restore.‖ But, among all these attacks upon their territorial privileges, that was not the least aggressive which took its rise in the rapacity of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. As though his almost countless manors¶ were not sufficient for his ambition or his pleasures, he must lay claim to that chase of Colwall and Eastnor,

* Reg. Swinf. ut supra.

† In Dors. p. 153, this seizure is referred to about 1275; but it must have occurred prior to that time, and the prince mentions them in a letter of 6 kal. Sept. 1275, as *tres villæ a diu retroactis temporibus sub dominio nostro.* Reg. Cant. f. 4 a.

‡ He restored some property that belonged to the see of Saint Asaph under threat of excommunication; and Cantilupe reminds him of it in his fifth and last letter, *Gratum haberemus admodum, et acceptum, si scriptis facta, vestra vellet nobilitas compensare, restituendo nobis et nostræ ecclesiæ dictas villas, sicut nuper domino Episcopo Assavensi bona et jura, quæ abstuleratis ab eo, liberaliter sicut decuit, reddidistis, excommunicationis laqueum formidantes.* Id. f. 15 b. Some of the tenants of these vills, who committed certain outrages, were actually excommunicated. Id. ff. 30 b, 31 a.

§ All traces of this attempt at negotiation disappear after about 1276. Llywelyn was slain 11 Dec. 1281. Hist. of Wales, 8vo. 1775, p. 396.

‖ Reg. Cant. ff. 22 a, et seq.

¶ See a list of them as taken at his decease in 24 Ed. I. Cal. Inquis. post mortem, pp. 131, 132, 133.

above Ledbury, whence the bishops, in its season, drew a great part of their necessary and acceptable supply of game. And it is a proof of the daring temper of that chieftain, already near in wealth and power, and soon to be drawn nearer by alliance, to the throne, as well as of the apparent supineness of Bishop Breton, who seems to have offered no serious opposition to him, that Cantilupe in the first year of his government found him master of that district, and sending his foresters through it as though it had been his own. This chase is frequently to be alluded to, for it is no unimportant feature in the Roll, and as often as it recurs may suggest the recollection of this recent controversy: had it proved unsuccessful on the part of the Bishop, the stock of venison that was brought into Swinfield's larder at Bosbury* would have been transferred to the castle of Hanley, the earl's occasional abode. But, in the inflexible resolution of Cantilupe, Gilbert met with an antagonist every way worthy of him. The cause was referred to the law; and such was the determination of the Bishop, that, according to the sanctioned usage of the times, he had prepared a champion to withstand him in the lists had the matter warranted an appeal to judicial combat.† The Earl pleaded that his father had possession during the times of Bishops Maydenstane and Aquablanca, but this was denied. Probably both father and son had so long trespassed upon the lordship that the latter thought he could assert a right to it. After much dispute Sir Ralph de Hengham and Sir Walter de Helyun, the justices commissioned for the trial, summoned to the spot a jury equally composed of men from the counties of Hereford and Worcester, who decided in favour of the church; and that enormous trench of separation between the two possessions was thrown out by the disappointed Earl along the ridge of the hill, where it remains a memorial of the contest to the present day.‡ These later instances of aggression and

* Roll, pp. 15, 16, 17, 19, 20. † Dors. p. 125, and App. No. I.

‡ This affair was closed April 12, 1278. Ann. Eccl. Wig. Angl. Sacra in anno. The fosse was made in the year 1287, to prevent the deer from straying into the Bishop's preserves, and *vice versa*. But in so doing the Earl trespassed upon the Bishop of Worcester's land, who in turn defended his right; and it was finally agreed by way of composition, that the Earl and Countess and their heirs should furnish annually to Godfrey, Bishop of Worcester, and his successors, from their chase of Malvern, at his manor of Kemsey, by the hands of their constable of Hanley, two brace of bucks and does on the vigil of the Assumption and Christmas eve. Reg. Godfr. Giffard, Ep. Wig. ff. 311 a, 453 a. Antiquit. Prior. Maj. Malv. 8vo. Lond. 1725, pp. 159, et seq.

invasion have been the more dwelt upon as of comparatively recent occurrence; for the present such attempts had ceased.

The importance of this episcopal barony when, as now, it was, perhaps, in its most flourishing condition, may be inferred, not only from the manors attached to it, but from the number and consequence of its feudal retainers clustered around it. These shew how much it had been in the first place indebted to the crown, or to generous donors who derived from that source the lands which they consigned to the church on the same terms as they had themselves obtained them. Himself holding of the king in chief, this prelate could produce a list of tenants, including some of the principal families in the country, that did homage to him, and performed suit and service when required;* among these the names of De Bohun, Braose, Clifford, Gifford, Mortimer, Pauncefot, Tregoz, Valence, and others appeared. By his oath of fealty and loyalty the Bishop had sworn "to truly acknowledge and freely do the services which belonged to the temporalty"† which he thus claimed to hold. The number of knights' fees for which he was answerable amounted in the whole to fifteen; but only five were summoned at a time, and when scutage was demanded he paid for only fifteen,‡ though his list exhibits a larger number. Many of these tenants served in person or by substitutes for Cantilupe and afterwards for Swinfield during the campaigns of Edward I. in Wales and Scotland;§ and the demand

* For an instance of homage recorded see App. No. XIV. Liber nig. Scacc. Hearne, I. p. 150, contains a catalogue of tenants at an earlier period. The existing roll of Swinfield's tenants is in App. XV.

† Statutes of the Realm, i. 249.

‡ *Sciendum est quod nullus unquam episcopus Herefordensis fecit servitium militare in exercitu domini regis nisi per .V. milites. Licet scutagium solvere consuevit pro quindecim, quando scutagium sine guerra fuit assisum ad pecuniam.* Reg. Swinf. f. 149 a. It was complained that demands of scutage were frequently attempted to be made from the exchequer many years after the service had been performed and allowed; for this reason care was taken to preserve the official discharges. The sum paid for scutage was 40*s.* for a whole fee, half a mark for a whole hide, and twenty pence for every virgate of land. App. XV. A regular commutation or compensation was introduced for knight's service in the following reign. Id. f. 121 b.

§ See App. XVI. for details respecting those who were in the last campaign against Llywelyn, and afterwards in Scotland; and the apparent attempts on the part of the exchequer to exact scutage for services that had actually been performed.

of service still continued to be put in force, but was ere long to cease. A slight notice of scutage is all that appears in the register of Bishop Orleton during the ensuing reign. It suited men of a wandering and predatory taste, when the realm was disturbed; but was attended frequently with much inconvenience and expense. The tenure was an honourable but often proved a troublesome one, and liable to abuses. Those who held by it might begin to look forward to a change; they might well think there was little satisfaction in turning out from their homes to go with horse and arms in the King's host, they knew not whither, on distant and perilous enterprises. The tenants of Saint Edmundsbury and Peterborough abbeys had become refractory, and many of the latter refused to serve unless their expenses were paid.* But though there is no proof of a like temper in those of this barony, there can be little question that in this and other usages the feudal system was on the decline.

There were also privileges which, adding in some degree to the revenue of these prelates, contributed, perhaps, more to their local authority. When Swinfield was cited to appear upon a writ of *quo warranto* before the justices in eyre at Gloucester so lately as the summer of 1287, he came into court by his attorney, and proved by his muniments in the customary way, that he and his successors and their men were entitled to all the advantages and indulgences which the pious affection of the heads of the state had ever in times past granted to those that had preceded him; that he had free warren in all his manors; that he had markets, and fairs, and was quit of suits of shires and hundreds, tollage, pontage, carriage, and many other services; that he had *sok*, *sak*, *toll*, and *theam*, *infangenetheof* and *utfangenetheof*, and all rights and exemptions which the crown had bestowed on those who came before him from the earliest days, and which had been confirmed to them from reign to reign as they were to him upon that occasion.†

The most satisfactory estimate of his revenue, and the actual condition and value of his temporals, is obtained from the report drawn up at this period by the Commissioners appointed to collect a tenth from the clergy

* Chron. Jocel. de Brakelonda, Rokewode, Camd. Soc. 1840, pp. 48, 49, 63. Chron. Petroburg. Stapleton, Camd. Soc. 1849, p. 24.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 43 a.

for the relief of the Holy Land.* The following is an alphabetical list of his manors in the diocese: most of them are mentioned in the Roll. Barton, Bishop's Castle (Salop), Bishop's Frome, Bosbury, Bromyard, Colwall, Cradley, Coddington, Eastnor, Eaton, Grendon, Hampton, Hereford, Ledbury, Ledbury North (Salop), Ross, Ross Foreign, Shelwick, Sugwas, Tupsley, Upton, Whitborne. The above, with only two exceptions, were in the county as well the diocese. Another, and almost the best, was at Prestbury, near Cheltenham, in Gloucestershire; and he had also some land in the counties of Wilts and Worcester. In the city of Worcester he had a house, and in London another, in which he lodged when summoned to attend episcopal congregations or parliaments.† Attached to his manors were thirteen mills, at which tenants were usually compelled to grind their corn,‡ and he had fisheries on the river Wye. In spirituals he had also by Papal bulls the appropriations of the great tithes of certain churches:§ and exemption from any payment of tithes upon his own cultivated lands;‖ so that without going minutely into the question of his receipts, which, as to temporals alone, are given in original drafts of the survey, in one place at somewhat more than 520*l.* per annum, and in another, including the whole of his property, at upwards of 790 marks;¶ it may be observed that

* This has been printed by Willis in his Survey of the Cathedral of Hereford, p. 828, from the MS. in Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, C. x. f. 76, and by the Record Commission under the title of "Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ, auctoritate P. Nicholai IV." fol. 1802, to which we shall have frequent occasion to refer.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 33 a, b. App. V.

‡ A grant or lease of the mill at Upton-Bishop from Hugh Foliot, (bishop from 1219 to 1234,) to Walter de Horlesdon contains this clause, *Volumus et præcipimus quod ballivi nostri de Ros et de Upton distringant omnes homines et fœminas villæ de Upton ad sequendum et exercendum molendinum nostrum de Upton cum omnibus molturis suis, et ibi morari usque dum possint perficere.* Reg. Swinf. f. 49 b.

§ Ledbury and Bosbury. Reg. Cant. f. 37 a. ‖ Reg. Swinf. f. 24 b.

¶ Id. ff. 78 a, 86 a. The statement published by Willis differs very little from an original copy inserted in the Episcopal Register; that which is included in the General taxation varies materially from them, and appears in error. For, whereas it professes to give the sum total of the profits in and out of the diocese conjointly at 449*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.* the others set the temporalities in the diocese of Hereford alone at that sum, and afterwards bring forward items from other quarters which advance the whole to upwards of five hundred pounds. Reg. Swinf. ff. 77 b, 78 a. The estimate appears to have been based upon a rateable rather than an actual value. The Pope was aware that this might be done, and by a bull dated

his income, considerable in those days,* was evidently sufficient to enable him to support the dignity and consequence of his baronage, to be liberal in rewards, to exercise hospitality to his neighbours and strangers, and charity towards the poor: but among his occasional outgoings must not be forgotten the heavy expenses to which he was subject by suits and applications at the court of Rome.

Though a part of the income of this see was derived from fluctuating and incidental sources, baronial and manorial privileges, rents of assize, fairs and markets, wardships and marriages, it was substantially maintained by the land. The principal and most necessary charges of the household will be perceived to have been borne by the profits and produce of the estates in money or in kind. Bailiffs placed in them had servants to cultivate the farms, and were answerable every quarter to a head steward, (*senescallus*,) for the proceeds. In their management they were sometimes assisted by members of the household, who were sent out, as they were wanted, on board-wages to help in collecting the hay or corn-harvest.† As to the sale of the produce, when anything was disposed of, whether to the Bishop himself or in any other quarter, the value of it was recorded upon a tally. Each *præpositus* on a farm, and the head of every department in the house, had his tally, and those of the clerk of the household and the head steward checked them all. Thus, whatever was had for the consumption of the family abroad or at home by the purveyor, the baker, the butler and brewer, the groom and

4 Id. Jan. 1289-90, required that the collections should be made according to the true value. Rymer, Fœdera, ii. pp. 459, 460. It is impossible to ascertain which of the two methods was generally adopted; but the former appears the more probable. The taxations of Carlisle and Llandaff are stated to be at the true value, and that of St. Asaph *ad verum valorem modo*, as if it had not been so in the first return. There are others called *novæ taxationes*, which looks as though some of them had been revised. Tax. P. Nich. pp. 278, 285, 318.

* Swinfield, in a letter to Geoffrey de Genvile, lord of Ludlow, at the beginning of his career, excusing himself for declining to give a prebend to his son, then a mere child, promises to allow him ten marks a-year out of his wardrobe till he could hold preferment; although, he observes, his bishopric was one of the smallest in England. No doubt he thought so. *Tut eye ioe une des mendres evesches de Engleterre.* But the conclusion seems formed in a general way. According to the returns, Worcester, Coventry and Lichfield, Exeter, and Rochester were below it in value.

† Dors. ‖46 a, et seq.

farrier, was accounted for by mutual reckonings.* Nothing was purchased in the market, brought in from the farm, or served out of the stores, without this process: neither wine nor beer, nor corn nor malt, nor articles for culinary purposes; neither bran, nor even grass for the horses, nor meal for the hounds, nor old iron for the forge, passed without its distinct entry, and this mode of proceeding is observable throughout the diary. If the Bishop, during an occasional residence at either of his manor-houses, was supplied with an article, the value of it was carefully noted, at as fair a price, probably, as it would have brought in the market; and it was allowed to the bailiff at the usual time of settling his accounts.†

Every family of rank or consequence, consisting of many dependants, was at this time provided with a person, whose office was to keep an exact record of everything that had been bought in, consumed, or was remaining after the meals and business of the day were over. The particulars he ascertained by calling the principal servants before him, and entering their several reports on his roll. According to the author of Fleta, this seems in royal and noble houses to have been done by the chief steward or his deputy the treasurer of the wardrobe, or *camera*.‡ In the present instance, though the Bishop had a seneschal to hold his courts and collect his rents and dues, the management of his finances as to the general receipt and disbursement of his money, and certainly as to that which was employed in his housekeeping and private concerns, had long been confided to one of his chaplains, a clerk of great integrity, whose roll, a specimen of which is now before us, was submitted to the inspection of auditors § at the expiration of every year.

* See an instance in Dors. p. 169.

† From Cantilupe's instructions to his seneschal, J. de Bradeham, in Nov. 1276, it appears that the bailiffs were required to make up their rents quarterly, beginning from the feast of St. Andrew. The money was paid into the wardrobe, and no bailiff was allowed to deliver out corn, animals, or any stock from his bailiwick unless a reasonable price had been set upon it. Great abuses had existed in the management of the stock and revenue in Bishop Breton's time. Reg. Cant. f. 33 a.

‡ He describes the duties of the treasurer of the king's wardrobe, an office which was discharged by clerks alone. In France it was called *camera clericorum*. Two rolls were kept, one for receipts, another for expenses. Fleta, l. ii. c. 14. The seneschal and his duties are given at length in c. 72.

§ Dors. ‖37.

The Bishop's immediate retainers and personal servants were in proportion to his means. Their supply of provisions and places of abode are here minutely noticed. Wherever he went the greater part went with him; wherever his chimney smoked they found their daily fare. If sent out of commons (*extra domum*) by his orders, board-wages, in addition to their stipends, were always allowed them. Most of them were clothed twice in the year. For one in his service who was sick while the family were stationary, help was obtained till he recovered: another, who fell ill on a journey, remained at nurse till my lord's return. A favourite waggoner, who accompanied him on visitations, and was injured, was not forgotten by his master.* Only two or three in the course of the twelvemonth left their employer, two farriers that went into Kent, and Hardy, the huntsman's page; and for this the causes are unknown.† Helpers were occasionally hired, but it was usual to be cautious on admitting any one to a situation of respon sibility. The writer of Fleta advises security to be required with regard to shepherds, "*Inveniat securitatem quilibet quod in iis, quæ officium suum tangunt laudabiliter se habebit.*"‡ And Cantilupe took it in the instance of a forester, John de Berkynge, whom he employed in 1275 at Ledbury North. This person, though he came recommended by the Bishop of Bayeux, brought forward two citizens of London, John Hardel and Roger de Garschirche (*Gracechurch?*) to be bound for his good behaviour;§ and Swinfield, in 1291, hiring Alan, a farrier, in the room of two who quitted him on the day of the Seven Sleepers (July 27), received a formal undertaking from several Londoners of the same calling, as to his future diligent and faithful service.‖ In the same year Roger de Clehangre, admitted as a messenger, took an oath of fidelity, and found bondsmen besides.¶ To attend to these securities, which exceeded our modern recommendations of character, was a part of the duty of the head steward.

Distinction of rank was strictly observed in this house. The list of paid attendants, omitting occasional helpers, amounted on an average to forty persons.** It is divided into four classes: squires (*armigeri*), serving

* Roll, p. 59, note a; 105, note b. Dors. ‖49.
† Dors. ‖63 g, l.
‡ C. 79, de pastoribus.
§ Reg. Cant. f. 8 b.
‖ Dors. p. 195.
¶ Reg. Swinf. f. 74 a.
** Dors. ‖42, 62.

valets *(valletti* or *vadleti de ministerio)*, inferior servants *(garciones)*, and pages *(pagii)*. At the head of the first, in the post of honour, is a relative of the late Bishop Cantilupe, whom Swinfield seems to have retained out of affection to his own beloved predecessor and master;* for it is not discoverable that the individual, who might be somewhat advanced in life, did anything to make himself useful during the whole year, nor is he noticed as being in his place as squire; for his name in connection with that of Swinfield is hardly ever found among the attestations and official acts in the Episcopal Register during this and the following years. The names of the others often appear in the roll, and Marines, Baseville, Deynte, and Adam, the head groom, are discovered to be agents and directors in many important concerns. The average of their usual wages varied from a pound to a mark per annum. Clerks of the chapel take precedence in the next section of the waiting valets or varlets; then come the carters, the larderer, falconer, porter, stable-groom, farriers, butler, chamberlain, huntsman, and messenger. Among these Harpin, the falconer, had been specially patronised by Bishop Cantilupe, who gave him a house in Ross, on the slope of the bank opposite Wilton, near the high road leading to the Wye.† He was occasionally employed as a purveyor, and was an experienced sportsman in his own department. John, the courier, was seldom at home, his business lay elsewhere; he was familiar with the continent, and was the bearer of despatches and remittances to Rome. The wages of this class were from eight shillings and eight-pence to a crown. The third division of stipendiaries comprises an inferior attendant in the chapel, the kitchen servants, the cook and his helpers, the baker, thresher, sumpterer, and under-groom, one who waited upon Stephen, my lord's brother, and another who was attached to that most active man of business, Thomas de la Dane. They received from three to four shillings annually. The fourth and lowest in degree were working pages, ordinary helpers of upper servants in the stable, bakehouse and kitchen, sumpterers' boys, and others that went with the hounds. Foliot, however, must be excepted from among them. He, whose ancestors had sent forth three Bishops to the see,‡ was but the humble messenger of my lord. Like John

* Dors. p. 167. † Dors. p. 169.

‡ In the Roll, p. 16, note b, only *two* are alluded to. They were *three* in all;

the foreign courier he was ever moving to and fro, and frequent mention is made of his labours. The wages of these underlings were higher in summer than in winter. Some of them received no more than sixpence in the winter half-year. The highest allowance was six shillings per annum.

But the summer and winter lists of domestic pensioners are far from comprehending all who ministered to his necessities or state. Churchmen of rank moved in a circle of officials and ecclesiastics who assisted in their temporal affairs as well as spiritual concerns, and were variously partakers of their bounty. Chaplains and clerks in orders, whom Swinfield kept about him, and supplied with incumbencies, which helped to remunerate them, were Thomas de la Dane, Stephen de Thanet, Bartholomew de Gatesdenn, John de Scelving, Nicholas de Reygate, Stephen de la Felde, and John de Kemeseye, the writer of this roll.* Besides these were sundry lay persons: Stephen, who, for aught that appears to the contrary, was my lord's only brother, and Reginald de Boclond. Two youths were passing their boyhood in the family, a son of the above Stephen, and Walter Dunr', *(Donne?)* the heir of a deceased feudal tenant at Chilston in the Golden Valley, whose wardship and marriage the Bishop had lately made over to his brother.† These seem to have been companions, and were supplied with necessaries by my lord. They were as permanent guests in his house, and it might be thought that Stephen, who should by his lease have been in the receipt of all the rents and profits of the Chilston estate, could at least have afforded to clothe these boys; but it falls upon the Bishop, and it may be concluded altogether that the whole party were at this time maintained by him. It was a custom that orphan wards, when they were old enough, should be taken into the family of their guardian.‡ The expenses of edu-

Gilbert 1149, Robert 1174, Hugh 1219. The Editor in this part of the work avails himself of an occasional opportunity of supplying an omission or correcting an error that may have occurred in the notes and commentary upon the Roll and Endorsement.

* Particulars respecting these persons may be found by reference to the Index.

† Dors. p. 132. Walter did homage for certain of his lands to the Earl of Hereford, March 12, 1302. Reg. Swinf. f. 38 b.

‡ This was not always done. In one instance a ward, who was of too tender an age, was returned to the custody of his female relations. The treatment of the little heir of Walford, near Ross, is a pleasing illustration of the paternal consideration of the Bishop, and of the simple manners of the age. ‖*Waleford.* ‖*Item memorandum quod die*

cating and maintaining two other youths at Oxford, poor scholars of the name of Kingessuod, came out of the same liberal purse. They were regularly inquired after and attended to by messengers, and once or twice in the year were allowed to pay him a visit of respect and pleasure.* Among such as received salaries, but whose duties might for the most part require their absence from him, may be reckoned, for example, Sir William de Mortimer, his head steward, descended from one of the noblest families in Herefordshire, who would be occupied in holding courts, inspecting bailiffs, and receiving rents,†—Robert de Furches, and Gerard de Eugina, chief bailiffs of the important manors of Ledbury and Prestbury. Every subordinate bailiff of every manor subsisted by his means or upon his pay, and owned him as lord.

In the ecclesiastical and civil courts at London he had his advocates and managers *(narratores)*.‡ Warin de Boys and John de Cantuaria undertook for him in the Court of Arches, and Richard de Pudlesdone with associated Italian proctors at Rome. Roger Caperun was his attorney at Westminster. But last of all, though he stands foremost in the record among his feed pensioners and defenders (*feoda diversa*),§ must be produced Thomas de Bruges, his doughty champion, whose office was, perhaps, at this time, a sinecure;‖ yet it might not be unadvisable in Swinfield still to retain him. The Church had much landed property exposed to fraud or

beatorum apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, anno domini supradicto (1303), *venit Johannes Comyn ad dominum ad Bosebur', et adduxit Johannem heredem de Waleford, puerum sex annorum et parvum amplius, et prædictum puerum domino tradidit, sicut domino feodi, custodiendum. Quem Johanni prædicto in fide sua dominus retradidit, per matrem pueri et aviam ejusdem pueri fovendum, donec dictis aliter ordinaret de eo.* Reg. Swinf. f. 138 b.

* Dors. ‖8, p. 117.

† Mortimer was, however, a clerk, and held several preferments in the diocese. Roll, April 13, p. 74, and Dors. p. 188.

‡ Dors. p. 112. Under this general head are included by Fleta all who acted in the Court of King's-bench, p. 87, l. 2, c. 37. *De Narratoribus. In curia autem Regis sunt servientes, narratores, attornati et apprenticii.* Serjeants, counsel, attorneys, and clerks, all under the title of *narratores.* The analogy of the term *conteur* is obvious. *Conteur est que aucun establit pour conter pour lui en cort.* Le grand coustumier du pays et duché de Normandie, c. 64, f. 75 b.

§ Dors. pp. 125, 126.

‖ Thomas Bodenham, so late as in the reign of Hen. VIII., received an annual stipend of 4*s.* 6*d.* as armour-bearer to the Bishop of Hereford. Duncumb, i. p. 511.

violence, and wager by battle for trial of the truth was still allowed by the law of the land. This mode of deciding difficult questions in the last resort, civil as well as military and criminal, was a custom of very ancient date among barbarous nations.* It had been sanctioned in France † and England ‡ of old. In cases of dishonour or felony the duellist was not allowed to fight by proxy, and if vanquished was hanged. § In civil causes a substitute was allowed. Henry II., in disputes about property, had introduced the wise alternative of the great assize. According to this an appellee had his choice of trial by inquest or wager of battle. Thus

* Blackstone, Comm. b. iii. c. 22, v.

† Saint Louis, by an ordinance in 1260, had endeavoured to suppress wager of battle in his own court, but could not succeed in removing it from the seignories of his barons, and it was afterwards re-established in 1306. The words of the ordinance by which it is restored are highly expressive: *Qui se plaint, et justice ne trouve, la doit-il de Dieu requerir, que si pour intérest, sans orgueil et mal talent, ains seulement pour son bon droit, il requierre bataille, jà ne doit redouter engin, ne force, car Dieu nostre Seigneur Jesus-Christ, le vrai juge, sera pour luy.* Le Livre de Justice et de Plets. Rapetti et Chabaille. Documents Inedits, 4°. 1850, Pref. pp. viii. ix.

‡ The Welsh never adopted it. This was sworn to upon competent evidence at the inquest held on their laws at Montgomery, 10 Edw. I. *Iuor ap Tetwaret Eynat, Wallice, Judex, Latine juratus et examinatus dicit, quod coram domino rege et suis justiciariis magnates Wallici consueverunt jus suum optinere . . . Addit etiam, quod ubi rei veritas de facili non potuerit inquiri, per legem Kenerith solebat loquela deduci; quæ quidem lex Kenerith, quia in Wallia duellum non solet invadiari, quasi loco duelli solebat placitum terminare, &c.* Rot. Walliæ in Turr. Lond. 10 Edw. I. m. 4.

§ An instance had occurred in Herefordshire (8 Hen. III.) about 66 years before. Walter de Furno (*Fourneaux* or *Furney*) assassinated Robert Mainard, who had come out of a tavern in company with his brother Walter Mainard. The latter appeared in court and challenged De Furno. They fought on the morrow. De Furno was vanquished and hanged. *Walterus filius Mainardi appellat Walterum de Furno quod sicut ipse et Robertus frater ejus recesserunt de quadam taberna apud Ros, venit ipse Walterus de Furno et nequiter et in felonia, et ipso vidente, percussit Robertum fratrem suum quodam cultello in ventrem, ita quod plaga illa obiit, et quod ita sit offert derationare versus eum per corpus suum sicut curia consideraverit. Et Walterus de Furno venit et defendit mortem illam per corpus suum; et ideo Walterus de Furno det vadium defendendi; et Walterus filius Mainardi det vadium probandi; et veniant armati die crastina. Plegii. Walterus filius Mainardi, Robertus Peuk, et Simon præpositus de Adeltone (Alton?) et Hugo Enoet. Et Walterus de Furno victus est et suspensus.* Rot. Itin. 8 Hen. III. in Turr. Lond. Plac. de term. Sti. Mich. a. 8°. Hen. III. The last appeal of murder was made in 1817, in the case of Ashford against Thornton.

it was that Gilbert de Clare, in the famous cause of the chase, neutralised the preparation of Cantilupe's champion, though he lost the day. The parties had joined issue upon a writ of right, and the defendant had his option of calling for a special jury: he did so, and their verdict proved adverse to his claim. Any one might appoint a champion, but churchmen and females would of course avail themselves of the privilege, and sometimes, like Cantilupe and Swinfield, they kept one in their pay. Henry de Ferneberg, in 42 Henry III. covenanted for thirty marks fee to be champion to Roger abbat of Glastonbury;* and valiant Thomas de Colville, hired by the lady Percy, in the reign of Ed. III. soon settled the quarrel between Thomas de la Mere, the prior of Tynemouth, and his oppressive antagonist, Sir Gerard de Woderyngton, only by standing up, and declaring his readiness to fight.† In the year 1275 two questions respecting church property in the county of Worcester came under a decision of this kind; one on June 25, in Hardwick meadow, for the church of Tenbury, which was adjusted, after all, without duel in favour of the Abbat of Lyra; a second on July 9 was for the bailiwick of Hembury (Hanbury?), and here the Bishop of Worcester's champion vanquished the champion of Philip de Stok.‡ A statute in the reign of Ed. I. which corrects a legal fiction in the champion's oath, confirms the frequency of these appeals in writ of right. Bishop Cantilupe agreed with Thomas de Bruges to pay him six shillings and eightpence annually, while he was able to serve him. Swinfield appears to have advanced his salary. For this he was to be always in readiness, and a fresh bargain as to pay and maintenance was to be made whenever he might be called upon to discharge his duty. He was engaged by oath to fight against Gilbert Earl of Gloucester and Hertford,§ or any one else, when required, excepting only the lords to whom he might previously have been bound. This written engagement bears date at Westminster, in November, 1276, while the controversy was pending. No trace has been discovered of Thomas de Bruges beyond 1290, and with him probably the office of Bishop's Champion, as a permanent appointment, expired. The

* Jacob, New Law Dict. v. *Champion*.

† Gibson, Hist. of Tynemouth Monast. I. p. 156, II. pp. 45, 46.

‡ Annales Eccl. Wigorn. in a. 1275. Wharton, Angl. Sacra, I. p. 501.

§ App. No. 1, where *Hertford* is misprinted *Hereford*.

duel which he would have to fight was not so bloody as that of the soldier in court-martial, nor that of the criminal on appeal of felony, but that which Spelman and Du Cange describe *cum fuste et scuto ;** and yet even this required no ordinary resolution and physical powers, to hold on with staff and shield, unwearied and unyielding, from sunrise till the evening stars appeared.

Another branch of expenditure in this episcopal household was the clothing distributed among his dependants. Indeed many that were not in regular attendance upon him wore his suit or livery *(secta domini)*.† Its striped pattern *(pannus stragulatus)* was seen in the courts in London ; his prædial agents, his distant connexions, wore it. In the household itself the garb of each individual was according to his rank. From the details here supplied we may be assisted in conjecturing how a prelate of Hereford in the thirteenth century appeared in his everyday suit‡ among his people.

* Gloss. in vv. *Campus. Duellum.* Du Cange, in v. *Campio.*

† It is not certain whether this applies to form or colour, perhaps to both.

‡ His official vestments find no place in this record, except in a very few instances, such as only relate to those of the simpler kind. Fine linen was bought for his rochets and a surplice ; the mending or making up of a rochet and a *capa chori* is carried to account[a] ; there is not a word of the richer robes and pontifical ornaments, but some notion of them may be formed from his register. It has been already remarked that the see was plundered of its valuables in the time of Aquablanca, but all was not then lost. Henry III. gave to the church a mitre set with precious stones, and when Cantilupe entered upon his charge this and another that had belonged to Bishop Ralph Maydenstane, a pastoral staff and ring of Bishops John Breton and Giles Braose, still remained among its stores. These pontificals gradually augmenting, and handed down from prelate to prelate, appear, like the regalia to the crown, a sort of heir-loom to the see. They were held in trust for it by the dean and chapter, and lent successively to each diocesan for the time being upon an undertaking that they should be restored. Cantilupe, while he was bishop elect in 1275 (Reg. f. 2 b), gave an engagement that his executors, within one month after the day of his decease, should give up those already described, which he borrowed for his use during his life ; but no vestments are named in the writing. At Swinfield's accession, however (Reg. f. 3 a), the stock was increased by another mitre, a pontifical, and several articles of dress and plate, the whole of which were more than doubled in number and value when Orleton succeeded him. In this respect, and perhaps not in this alone, Swinfield left the see far better than he found it. Orleton's bond exhibits the following inventory : *Habuimus ex accommodato, &c. Unam mitram de perlȳs cum voltis deauratis et amalatis plenis lapidibus preciosis quam bonæ memoriæ dominus Johannes de Swynefeud quondam Episcopus Herefordensis*

[a] Dors. pp. 138, 190, 192.

At any rate here is the quality, if not the exact cut, of his apparel, as a guide. The Bishop, in common with his superior clerks or chaplains, was clad during winter * in Keyneth, a strong cloth for ordinary wear. He had a surcoat *(supertunica)* trimmed or made with doe-skins, he had hoods of miniver, and a mantle; he also wore a furred cap; so that he must have been well secured against the cold and rain. Among his clerks Roger de Sevenak† was distinguished by apparel more nearly approaching to that of my lord than the rest, and he had a cloth mantle and furred hood like his master. Others had doe-skin hoods and trimmings of fur to their dresses. Clerks of the chapel, squires, bailiffs, and lawyers wore striped cloth and so did the serving-men; the footmen and pages seem to have borne the same livery. Thomas de la Dane, Reginald Boclond, and my lord's brother, had hoods and trimmings of lamb's fur, and the squires and chapel-clerks were allowed no other. The best furs appear to have been garnished with squirrel-skins. Stephen and Bartholomew de Gatesdenn ‡ had the layman's tabard, a coat resembling that which forms the dress of a herald at the present day. The cloth of Foliot's garment was of a mixed quality. In summer a part of the family had a lighter change.§ The materials in which the Bishop, his brother, Boclond, and the clerks

emit a magistro Willielmo de Kyngescote quondam canonico Herefordensi, pretii quadraginta librarum. Item, duos pannos aureos de una secta cum griffonibus in latis circulis de rubeo serico per totum, pretii .x. marcarum. Item, unum par sandalium cum griffonibus consutis cum jocularibus lapidibus intextis, pretii quadraginta solidorum. Item, unam casulam de rubeo sindone linita (sic) *de carda crocea, pretii quadraginta solidorum. Item unam casulam cum tunica et dalmatica de albo samito ex parte una et rubeo sindone ex alia, pretii decem librarum. Item, tertiam casulam de serico de India linita* (sic) *de carda viridi cum tunica et dalmatica dupplicatis, videlicet, de rubeo sindone ex parte una et de sindone de India ex alia, pretii quadraginta solidorum. Item, unum libellum processionalem, pretii duorum solidorum. Item, unam casulam, tunicam et dalmaticam cum capa de samito albo et de sindone rubeo, nova et recentia de eadem secta; unum baculum pastoralem, sandalias et sotulares episcopales de panno serico de gennia* (genoa velvet?); *et alios sotulares de serico sanctæ memoriæ domini Thomæ de Cantilupo de armis ejusdem. Item duas mitras, quarum una est alba cum aurifrigiis, et alia est de* (samito?) *cum aurifrigiis et lapidibus pretiosis; albam et maniplum amictum cum stola ejusdem sectæ broudatæ cum perlis? magnis, et duo paria cirothecarum et pontificalium.* Reg. Orleton, f. 12 a.

* Dors. p. 111, et seq. † Roll, April 11. ‡ Dors. p. 120.

§ Dors. p. 183, et seq.

were then dressed are called *bluett* and *sindon*. The squires still appeared in stripes. Stephen was supplied with another tabard of mixed cloth, and little Dunr' had a liberal allowance of the same quality. Fur trimmings were used, but more sparingly; they consisted of budge and lamb-skin. Hoods were worn, and Dunr' had a little chapeau *(capellus)* in addition, probably to keep off the sun. This is merely a brief collective view of the principal summer and winter habiliments of the household. Most of the materials for these and for making them up were bought by Thomas de la Dane in London, where he was present twice upon this errand in the course of the year; but a great variety of articles of dress, interspersed among the miscellaneous entries, were distributed at different times to objects of my lord's bounty and compassion, and cannot be particularly enumerated here. The Sceluings or Shelvings, a Kentish family, apparently connected with him, came in for a large share. Heloisa Shelving, with her daughters, and the niece of John Shelving, with certain other females, received presents of furred dresses and linen, of which article no mention has hitherto been made, because it is not brought under one view in the accounts. The proportion of it, taken all together, of body-linen, table-linen, sheets, or towels, is small compared with that of woollen. It will be seen, with regard to the latter, that before it was made into clothes, it underwent the operation of shearing or clipping *(in pannis retondendis)* after it had passed into the buyer's hands. The clipper was a person of no less importance than the tailor, unless, indeed, the tailor undertook both offices. But, though it was furnished in the rough and submitted to this process when new, the same was sometimes repeated to refresh it after it had been worn awhile, and ladies of the highest rank, on grand occasions, appeared in turned and reclipped robes of state.

But to return to the more immediate inmates of this society. The absence of one feature in the group that has passed in review before us is too striking to be overlooked. Among the variety of attendants not a female is discoverable in regular service; not one who is designated by a permanent office or a name. No woman appears in the chamber, kitchen, or scullery. Once a dairymaid is, as it were, accidentally discovered at one of the farms,* and the help of the *bruwyf*, as she is called by Piers Ploughman,

* March 24, at Sugwas *in manerio*.

(for the process of brewing was always more or less managed by women,) is sought on some occasions to make ready against the Bishop's arrival at his manors.* House-cleaning, another of these preparations, is often adverted to; but it is paid for as an extra expense, and it is not certain by what hands this was performed. The washing, to use a domestic expression, was *put out*, and entered as a separate charge.† Such exclusion of the

* Dec. 22, March 24, 31. They are called *braciatores*; but it is plain by the expression *in stipendiis earundem*, that they or the helpers were not of the masculine gender.

† There is reason for believing that even among the higher ranks of society in this age the virtue of cleanliness was not pushed to any fastidious excess; and the following statement, if it may be admitted to refer to the whole household, will go but a little way towards establishing an impression of extravagance, or the frequency of a change of linen. The washing-bills for a twelvemonth in a family of this class, during the reign of Edw. I. must be allowed to be a rarity. They are here brought together, as was proposed in p. 131, in a connected form, out of different parts of the Endorsement, to exhibit the general cost under this head. The dates are chiefly supplied from the diary.

	s.	*d.*
At Sugwas, about St. Luke's day, Oct. 18	3	4
Bosbury, All Saints and up to Christmas	6	8
Prestbury at Christmas	1	0
Reading, the beginning of January	0	8¾
Bedfont, first week in do.	0	6
London, second week in do.	0	9
Kensington, Jan. 13, 14, 15	0	1
Earley, do. 18 to 22	1	3
Prestbury, February	3	9
Ledbury, do. latter end	1	3
Wollastone, March 10, 12	0	7½
Ross, do. 14 to 17	1	1
Sugwas, against Easter	1	6
Colwall, about Easter	1	6
Cradley and on the road, April 10, et seq.	0	3½
Kinlet, do. 16, et seq.	0	9
Bitterley, April 25	0	5½
Stoke-say, do. 27	0	3
On the road, Festival of St. John Port-Latin, May 6	0	9½
Do. on the Shropshire visitation 2d and 3d week in May	2	1½
At Pembridge, May 23	0	8
Sugwas, about June 11	3	0
Bosbury, June 14, et seq.	0	11
Whitborne, in summer	5	6
Colwall, before the Assumption, Aug. 15	4	6
	£2	3 2¾

Curiosity is baffled as to the nature of these charges, whether they are moderate for

sex was not peculiar to Swinfield's establishment. The austerity of Cantilupe in this matter towards his nearest relations is commended by his biographer;* and, if it had not been a rule, founded on the celibacy of the clergy, the practice of his predecessor, whose example he held in the profoundest veneration, might have sufficiently determined Swinfield. Throughout the Roll and Endorsement Heloisa Shelving and Lady Matilda de Mortimer are the only distinguishable female names that proceed from the pen of John de Kemeseye.

It is not possible, within the limited compass of this Abstract, to embrace more than a few of the curious incidental expenses which are presented to the reader in the original, and are for the most part attempted to be explained in the notes and commentary. It must therefore be confined chiefly to the gross divisions of outlay, with some of their subordinate items as they arise. Nor let the attempt be deemed superfluous because preceding writers have given details and expositions of this kind with reference to the thirteenth century. It is by comparison of contemporary records that we arrive at a more complete acquaintance with the character and habits of a remote age.

The daily consumption of this family drew heavily upon the purse of its master. In recording it, after stating the place and day of the week or festival by the calendar, the clerk began his list with bread, wine, and beer; he next took down the quantity and sorts of fish, if it were a day of fasting or abstinence; if otherwise, he noted the flesh or fowl that had been bought in or remained from a previous day, or had been consumed or reserved to another occasion; every article had its price affixed; he inserted what presents, if any, had been received, what quantity of salted stock had been taken out for use, and in the salting season what had been killed and

the time or otherwise. The Court laundress in 28 Edw. I. undertook the linen of the royal chapel, of the chamber and family towels, for two marks per ann. Liber Quotid. Garderobæ, Topham, p. 84. And at Michaelmas in the same year, Alice Pope was paid 1*l. pro lotura pannorum* of Elizabeth, Countess of Holland, the king's daughter; and it seems to have been a yearly undertaking. Id. p. 72.

* "He shunned the conversation of women, even his own sisters, as much as could stand with common civility; not permitting them to lodge above one night in his palace, and then his custom was to leave it himself, and divert to some of his manor-houses." Life and Gests, &c. c. 24, p. 307. See Collier, Eccl. Hist. II. 539. 8vo. ed. London, 1840.

laid up; he then descended to minutiæ employed in cookery and domestic economy, milk, eggs, condiments, the produce of the garden, marketings, porterage, horse-shoeing, work, and things of various descriptions, of which no connected catalogue can here be given; concluding sometimes with food for the hounds, invariably with provender for the stable.

Bread. Of the fineness of their bread no judgment can be formed; they separated the bran, bolting the meal and dressing fine flour *(flos)* for pastry and culinary purposes. The expression *panis* heading each day's bill of fare signifies in general ground wheat:* *frumentum* expresses its unground state: *de manerio* shews that it was taken from the farm. We gain no further insight into its lightness than into its other qualities. Yeast *(gestia)* was used, but does not appear so often as might be expected. Baking-days are always suggested by the marginal *furn'*, but this is hardly ever met with when the family are moving about, for then they bought their loaves. Roger the baker and his little page† must evidently have had full employment to feed so many mouths, and it is not surprising that he fell ill in the heat of summer.‡ The home consumption has some regularity in it. At Sugwas, for instance, in October, a batch of two quarters would last from two to three days; while, on the other hand, three quarters were sometimes consumed in two days; this, however, might be occasioned by the presence or absence of visitors. Their great entertainments are signalised by bakings extraordinary. The reader who is interested in this branch of inquiry will accept these reports as useful in establishing the relative prices of grain during this critical period, and will remark the striking variation between the metropolitan and provincial markets. It is to be regretted that the comparison extends but to a few days, and it will be borne in mind that where wheat is quoted so extravagantly high in proportion at London, it might have been affected by the then great influx of strangers. Throughout October it was at 2*s.* 6*d.* the quarter, and in the first week of November it rose to 3*s.* after which it again sunk to 2*s.* 6*d.* In the first week of December it advanced to 3*s.* and so continued till they

* Sometimes it may express bread or a loaf. It is used in both senses in the statute De Pistoribus. Stat. of the Realm, i. p. 201.

† Dors. ‖44 h, 45 b.

‡ July 17, p. 105.

went to London. Of its value in the different counties through which they passed no account is preserved, for the reason above given, that they bought their bread in loaves. In London the price was more than doubled, being 6*s.* 1*d.* At Earley, on the way back, Jan. 20, it was 5*s.* When they were afterwards at Prestbury, Jan. 24, it was at 3*s.* 4*d.* On Feb. 4 it fell to 3*s.* on the 6th they paid 3*s.* 4*d.*; on the 23rd and till the 1st of March 4*s* Here it is lost sight of till the 15th of that month, when it continues the same. From this period till the second week in July it varies * between 3*s.* 4*d.* and 4*s.* till, as the harvest approached, always in former times the dearest season of grain among the country people, it reached to 5*s.* This was paid for it in the Ledbury market, the family being then at Colwall, and here the roll is closed. Thus it appears that wheat was advancing in price during the whole of the time, and that it became worth double within ten months, beginning at Michaelmas with 6¼*d.* and ending in July at 1*s.* 0½*d.* per bushel.† And this agrees with the representations of historians. "This yeare," according to Holinshed, "on S. Margaret's even,‡ that is the 9 daye of Julie, fell a wonderfull tempest of haile, that the like had not beene seene nor heard of by any man then living. And after there insued such continuall raine, so distempering the ground, that corne waxed very deare, so that whereas wheat was sold before at three pence a bushell, the market so rose by little and little that it was sold for two shillings a bushell, and so the dearth increased almost by the space of 40 yeares, till the death of Edward the Second, insomuch that sometime a bushell of

* With only one exception, April 8.

† The quarter of London was eight bushels. Assisa de Pond. et Mens. Ed. I. Statutes of the Realm, p. 204. A not improbable difference between this and the provincial quarter, like that between the standard bushel and customary bushel, would disturb any estimate based upon these facts. But it may be presumed that, if such difference existed in the buying and selling of the country, it would have been noted; for Kemeseye has not omitted in certain purchases to mark the difference between the long and short hundred. Roll, March 27, et alibi.

‡ Walsingham, from whom this is taken, says it was *nocte S. Margaretæ.* Ypod. Neustriæ, p. 72. Thunderstorms frequently happen about this time. Even the new style has not rendered the country proverb less applicable than it might have been under the old, that "St. Margaret washes her handkerchief on her day." Fleetwood, Chronicon Preciosum, ed. 1707, pp. 79, 80, was apparently perplexed by the want of precision in some historians, and assigned this event to 1286.

wheat, London measure, was sold at ten shillings."* Barley is hardly ever mentioned; once at a brewing in December, when it was two-thirds the price of wheat.† Rye does not occur; so that we look in vain for the excellent bread called Monkcorn, consisting of a mixture of that grain with wheat, a favourite in the monasteries, from which it derived its name. They gave bran to their horses, and bread or mashes of flour *(panis)* to them when they were sick. The same *panis*, whichever it might be, was given to dogs. The common food of the hounds was oatmeal. Poultry were fattened on flour of wheat and oats ‡

WINE was of two sorts, red and white, the red imported, the white chiefly, if not altogether, home-made. Early writers celebrate the vineyards of Britain, but they do not lead us to conclude that these were general throughout the island,§ and those that once flourished in the more genial parts of it exist now but in name. Up to this time, however, the culture of the vine was, to some extent, in certain districts, attended with success. The leisure and means of churchmen caused them to be the principal promoters of every kind of agricultural improvement, whether in inclosed or open ground; and many towns on this side of England, especially where great religious establishments had been formed, could boast of vineyards in their neighbourhood. Worcester, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Hereford, and Ledbury can still point to their ancient sites. The prolific vines that cover

* Chronicles, I. p. 284, c. 2, in a. regis Ed. I. 17, 1289. Walsingham, ut supra, observes of the fertility of the preceding year that wheat was sold in some places for 1*s.*, in others for 1*s.* 4*d.* and 1*s.* 8*d.* per quarter. *Sed superbiente populo et ingrassato, mutavit altissimus fortunam illam, ita quod in secundo anno sequente, scilicet millesimo .CC°. nonagesimo, vendebatur quarterium frumenti pro .xii.s. sterling, et in locis aliquibus pro marca et ultra.* Trivet gives the same account of it. Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, i. 449, points out that Stowe places it much lower: that in the west and north parts of the country it was sold for eight pence, being a farthing the peck. Thus the subsequent advance was rapid indeed. Might not the value of money have united with the season in bringing about and continuing this change? The Worcester Annals indicate it as a concurrent cause of the cheapness of grain, setting it at a rate still lower than any above quoted. Anno 1288 (Maius), *Tanta fuit copia frumenti et raritas monetæ, quod quarterium vendebatur pro sex denariis.* Angl. Sacra, i. 510.

† Roll, p. 32. ‡ Roll, pp. 8, 31, 78, 79, 106.

§ *Vineas etiam in quibusdam locis germinans.* Bede, Monumenta Hist. Britan. fol. 1848, p. 108. *Vineæ fertilis est, sed raro.* Hen. Huntingdon. id. p. 693.

the cottages in the counties of Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford have frequently been observed by strangers; and it might fairly be inferred that the climate that brings the apple and pear to perfection, would not be unfavourable to the grape. Cantilupe planted or renewed the vineyard which Swinfield now had at Ledbury,* and it yielded seven pipes *(dolia)* of white wine, and nearly one of verjuice, in the autumn of 1289.† But this was only a portion of the general stock expended in the course of the ensuing twelvemonth. From Bristol, the great mart of foreign wine for this part of the island, they procured, at two several times, in all twelve pipes and one barrel;‡ they also laid in a small tun *(tonellus)* for their use in London; and as vintners dwelt in most towns, they bought it repeatedly, when they had occasion, on their journeys. The excellent historian of the middle ages has remarked concerning the gentry in the reign of Edward I. that "they drank little wine,"§ and this, no doubt, as respected housekeepers, is mainly true; still where there were taverners there must have been customers, and in the houses of the nobles and dignified clergy there are proofs that it was a daily beverage. Very few days passed, whether of ordinary diet or abstinence, feast or fast,‖ that in Swinfield's hall it was not seen upon the board.¶ The daily quantity consumed is found to have varied from half a sextary to as high as eleven, and even upwards, according to the character of the entertainment or the attendance of guests.** It was bought according to the Assize of 51 Hen.

* In the letter to his steward already quoted, he remarks, *De modo faciendi vineam nostram de Ledebÿr' vobis apertius scribemus; sed quia tempus non adest in brevi eandem faciendi, distulimus de factura ejusdem plus ista vice mandare.* Reg. Cant. f. 33 b.

† Roll, March 2, p. 59. ‡ Id. Dec. 3, p. 25; July 11, p. 103.

§ Hallam, State of Europe during the Middle Ages, iii. 451, ed. 2, 1819.

‖ Good Friday, March 31, must be excepted.

¶ The lighter wines of France were now chiefly in demand. It may be concluded that the Bishop never could have suspected the pathological fact detected by acuter medical observers of more modern times, that such a liquor would be injurious in promoting and aggravating the frequency of those nephritic attacks under which he suffered at intervals. He had a cup of wine by him during one paroxysm, and was relieved for the time by drinking it. See Dors. p. 139.

** At the great fish day in Ross, March 15, the company were supplied with no less than thirteen sextaries.

III. and 13 Ed. I. which provided that it should be sold at one shilling the *sextarium*. This is the standard to be applied to the larger vessels enumerated in the roll,* the barrel *(barillus)* and the pipe or tun, smaller or larger *(tonellus, dolium*, these two are used as convertible terms). The measures of this period have baffled some acute antiquaries. Certain useful notices may, however, be gathered from this roll. But any critical attempt founded upon the materials here supplied, to reconcile the prices with the exact capacities of the above-mentioned vessels, would needlessly occupy the room of that which will probably be more interesting to the general reader. We have the authority of Fleta † for the fact, that fifty-two sextaries were contained in every *dolium* of genuine wine. Below the sextary, by which of course the sale of the smallest as well as largest quantity was regulated, comes the gallon *(lagena)*, four of which constituted a sextary, and lower still the bottle *(potellus)*, six of which made up the sextary.‡ This is the lowest wine measure with which we are made acquainted. In spite of the prohibition of the statute, by which it was enacted that the doors of those vintners should be shut up who exceeded the shilling in their demand, it is plain that they made an illicit profit upon it in remote country towns. In London, Middlesex, and some parts of Gloucestershire, may be traced the observance of the Assize; but in other parts of the latter county, and in those of Berks, Worcester, Salop, Radnor, and in the towns of Hereford § and Monmouth the charge was higher. The prices are only recorded when they are moving about from place to place, their consumption at the manors being from the stock purchased in Bristol, which is entered in two parts of the roll,‖ and from the produce of the vineyard at Ledbury. They drew it, as cider is now drawn, from the wood, and sometimes it was long on tap.¶

* Pp. 25, 39, 103.

† *Dolium vini quinquaginta duo sextaria vini puri debet continere et quodlibet sextarium quatuor jalones.* Pp. 73, 74, lib. 2, c. 12, § 11.

‡ This is seen by the scale of prices, Jan. 4, p. 37.

§ It may, however, be observed, in justice to the vintners of Hereford, that Henry III. upon two occasions, when he was in that place in the eleventh year of his reign, granted them the privilege of selling their wines contrary to the assize, owing to a scarcity of wine there; and directed his judges of assize not to fine or molest them on that account. Rot. Litt. Claus. 11 Hen. III. p. 202 b.

‖ Dec. 3; July 11.

¶ Roll, pp. 32, 56, 96.

The mention of this last liquor may suggest a passing thought of surprise that it should form no part of the store of these Herefordshire cellars. It certainly was not unknown in England at the time,* but hither it had not as yet extended, and the era of its introduction is at present unknown. Once only they tasted mead, as they were travelling in Shropshire. It cost no more than $10\frac{1}{2}d.$ and if many partook of it, unless it were very cheap, this would, perhaps, be but a taste.

BEER or ALE occupies the next place. One word only, *cervisia*, is used to describe it. As no distinction of sort † is expressed, the conclusion is probable, at least with regard to that in the roll,‡ that it was made in the manner technically called by country brewers *one way beer*. If the entries of Kemeseye under this head do not literally, in Shakespeare's phrase, "chronicle *small* beer," neither do they convey any relative notion of its strength. In the ingredients from which it was extracted there was a wide difference from the modern practice of compounding it. Three several brewings occurred § at Prestbury, Sugwas, and Bosbury; in the two latter malt of wheat and oats, in the former malt of wheat, oats, and barley were employed.‖ Destitute of the aromatic and conservative bitter of the hop, and drugged, as it is known to have been, with spices, this fermented mixture must have been, in its best condition, as heavy on the palate and as inferior to that which now by excellence bears the name of ale, as it was

* It occurs in the roll of the Countess of Leicester; but, so early as the 6th of King John, a. 1205, Robert de Evermue was found to hold his lordship of Redham and Stokesly in Norfolk by petty serjeantry, the paying of 200 pearmains and four hogsheads (*modios*) of wine made of pearmains into the exchequer on the feast of St. Michael yearly. Blomefield's Norfolk, 4th edit. xi. p. 242, quoted by Cullum, Hist. and Antiq. of Hawsted, p. 117, note.

† But two sorts were made for sale in the next reign. Fleetwood, p. 91. Stowe, a. 1315, mentions three sorts.

‡ There is nothing to prove the contrary; and as to that which was bought, the general correspondence of the sums with the number of sextaries furnishes evidence of it. Where an irregularity can be detected between them, it may be reconciled by the notion that in such a purchase there were two sorts of beer.

§ Dec. 22; March 24, 31. The last is entered at Colwall, but it took place at Bosbury. See Apr. 9.

‖ Wheat was forbidden to be used in 1315 and 1316. Fleetwood, ut supra.

afterwards in the days when to drink it thick, according to an old rhyming proverb, was considered a wholesome luxury.* As all in the household could not have been served with wine, and those to whom beer was allowed were probably the largest number, the daily consumption involved no trifling expenditure. When they brewed at home they drank it, as may be seen, as soon as it was ready; indeed, from its character, it does not appear fit for keeping any length of time. But the greater part of it was bought. Like wine, its price was settled by Assize, and rose or fell with the price of corn.† No notice is furnished of its being sold by the cask. The measure differed from that of wine; the sextary contained twelve *lagenæ* or gallons.‡ It was to be had in every town, and at alehouses by the road side. A frequent entry is *in potu per viam*. When trifling services called for remuneration to strangers, it was often paid in this kind, *in potu dato famulis* or *in potu garcionum*.§

Fish. The viands come next under review, and as days of abstinence or fasting, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday in every week, Ember days and those of Lent, exceed the others,‖ the varieties of fish then eaten are repeatedly

* The writer can well recollect being told in very early life by a country gentleman who lived to an extreme age, and had been at the University of Oxford towards the latter part of the reign of George the First, that the strong beer then in vogue at the colleges was so glutinous that, when it had been spilt, the cup would in some degree adhere to the table.

† A difference was made between the sale in the town and country. In the assize of bread and ale it is enacted that, when a quarter of wheat is sold for 3*s*. or 3*s*. 4*d*., and a quarter of barley for 1*s*. 10*d*., and a quarter of oats for 1*s*. 4*d*., the brewers in towns may well afford to sell two *lagenæ* of beer for a penny, and out of town three or four gallons for a penny; and when in a town three gallons are sold for a penny, out of town they ought and are able to sell four. *Quando in burgo venduntur tres lagenæ ad denarium, extra debent vendi quatuor, et bene possunt.* The roll affords no evidence of compliance with this rule, though it exhibits some of these prices.

‡ *Galona* and *lagena* are used indiscriminately. Fleetwood, pp. 100, 101, does not seem to have been aware that twelve *lagenæ* of beer measure formed a sextary, and hence appears to have ventured upon a correction in error by reducing them to quarts.

§ Roll, Dec. 21, 30; Jan. 4, 7, 16, et alibi.

‖ The canonical days are seldom infringed upon. See, however, Roll, Dec. 28, 30; Jan. 4, 25.

presenting themselves. There is no miscellaneous day in which both fish and flesh appear together; the meals are entirely of the one or the other. From the sea, the rivers, and the stagnant waters they had the following sorts: salmon, sturgeon, herrings in shoals, cured red and white, cod, haddock, hake, gurnet, ling, plaice, ragan, mackerel, barr, shad, sprats, stockfish, eels, from the elver to the conger, bream, pike, tench, trout, minnows; no shell fish but oysters and welks. The catalogue would have been increased, if the details had been furnished of what are generically classed as fresh-water fish *(piscis aquæ dulcis)*, perch, roach, dace, gudgeons, &c. The tenants of the wear at Sugwas paid a rent *(angrou*)* of salmon and eels; and bream and pike were caught in the large pool *(in magno vivario)* at Ross.† Pike and tench were kept in a stew at Ledbury.‡ Great part of the above sorts, fresh or salted, were to be met with, according to the season and circumstances, in the markets of London, Gloucester, Bristol, and Hereford, and were sometimes laid in by horse-loads.§ Salted eels, salmon, and herrings were to be bought in most towns. Some sorts are wanting that are found in the Countess of Leicester's roll, but she had freer access to the sea.

Meat. This falls within a smaller compass. Carcasses and half carcasses of beef, mutton, veal, and pork occur in profusion. Joints or parts less than a quarter, subdivisions of a later date, are left unnoticed.‖ The house-steward seems to have been abhorrent of the word *agnus*, lamb; and has left it to be inferred that every age and condition of the sheep is included in the generical latinised Norman term *multon*. Swine's flesh was in great request, from the brawny boar and bacon hog down to the sucking pig and its trotters. Kids were eaten in spring and summer when they were on the borders of Wales.¶ There was, however, one delicacy, the excellence of which, combined with the pleasure of obtaining it, has rendered it a favourite with every race and generation of the families of mankind from patriarchal

* Feb. 27; March 9, 12.

† March 17, 27.

‡ Feb. 26, 28.

§ Feb. 15, et alibi.

‖ Those of venison are distinguished, the side or flitch, the haunch and the rump. Roll, pp. 40, 41. Stowe, a. 1533, has preserved a memorandum of the commencement of the London butchers' retail trade by weight.

¶ In April and May.

times. It is true that "hunting had ceased to be a necessary means of procuring food, but it was a convenient resource on which the wholesomeness as well as luxury of the table depended."* Venison of both kinds, in its due season, red and fallow deer *(cervus, damus)*, fresh or preserved with salt, was always to be found in their larder. Occasionally they had the roe *(capriolus)*. This produce of the chace and parks cost nothing but the care of the keepers,† the toil of the huntsmen, and the maintenance of the hounds, and therefore the estimate of its value, which in the gross could not have been inconsiderable, enters not into the account. A great portion of it, as well as of the other meats, was salted, and proved of essential service at times when stock was lean or scarce. It is remarkable that the smaller game with which the manors should have abounded, hares and rabbits, are totally passed over. Partridges are punctually recorded, but they are never prized.

Poultry and Wild-fowl. The table on flesh-days was never spread without a due proportion of poultry or birds of some kind, and it was evidently a rule observed if it were only by a dish of larks or pigeons. But the varieties expressed are comparatively few. Fowls of every size, capons, mallards (not often), geese (great favourites), and larks. The birds classed as *volatiles* might be more numerous. The domestic fowl was dressed in large quantities. To have counted twenty in one day might seem sufficient as one among so many other articles of provision, but days at Christmas and New-year's-tide may be pointed out in which they amounted to forty and upwards,‡ once to fifty-four,§ with no memorandum of any remaining. Though Adam Harpin the fowler is industrious among his nets and the young falcons,‖ he does not contribute to keep down the cost of this branch of housekeeping so much as John the huntsman and his fellows in their department. Harpin might bring in many a brace of partridges, but we miss larger and other kind of wild-fowl from the wood and river, the moor and the open plain. Here, as at the board of the Countess of Leicester,¶ neither heron, nor swan, nor bittern, woodcock, snipe, nor plover, curlew nor quail, make their

* Hallam, State of Europe, iii. 363.

† Fodder might, indeed, have been given to the deer in winter, when the does in particular were fatted in the parks, and said to be *de firmatione*. Roll, Nov. 1, Dec. 26. But this would belong to the bailiff's accounts.

‡ Roll, Dec. 25, 27; Jan. 3. § Jan. 8. ‖ Pp. 15, 93.

¶ Manners and Household Expenses.

appearance by name. It may be suspected that their falconry was not, and reason may be given why it might not be, conducted in the highest style of the art;* but it might be very successful in capturing the *volatiles* above mentioned, and we know not how many of the smaller sorts of birds might be among them. Pheasants were not yet common, though to be had in the London market.† The omission of the peacock is not strange; it was, perhaps, ever confined to state solemnities and extraordinary banquets of the great.

As we proceed towards the end of these daily details trifling entries will be observed falling in after the more substantial articles. Among them eggs are at all events numerically important. Fourteen hundred were provided for Easter-day, and yet more were bought on the following day.‡ FRUITS and VEGETABLES are few. Of the latter, onions, leeks, garlic, peas, beans, and potherbs, and in one instance salted or pickled greens.§ Fruits were chiefly foreign, and of the dried sorts, adapted to the fasts; figs, almonds and raisins, and nuts. The lemon and apple are just mentioned.‖ No gardener is enrolled among the servants. Gardening and the training

* The household books of Edward I. exhibit his passion for the sports of the field, and particularly for falconry. The nobility, and all who could afford to indulge in it, followed his example. The king had eleven falconers *ad duos equos*, and six *ad unum equum*. Rot. de Denar. Liberat. &c. a. 18 Ed. I. Carlton Ride. Amidst all his anxious schemes and active measures, he paid great attention to his hounds and hawks. The charges for attendance upon sick birds are curious, for watching and keeping them warm, and offering at shrines for their recovery. Edward ordered an offering for one of them to be made at the shrine of St. Thomas de Cantilupe in Hereford cathedral. *Thomelino filio Simonis Corbet* (the Corbets of Shropshire were great sportsmen) *pro uno quarterio carbonis empti ad ardendum per .iiij. dies pro uno girfalcone regis infirmo .xrj.d. Eidem pro oblationibus quas fecit ad feretrum Sancti Thomæ Herefordensis et ad feretrum Sancti Thomæ Cantuariensis pro dicto falcone infirmo per præceptum regis .xj.d.* Rymer, Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 4574, f. 239. A waxen image of the falcon was offered for the bird at the tomb at Hereford, and a journey made to bring him thither. *Eidem pro cera empta ad faciendum similitudinem girfalconis ad offerendum pro ipso ad Sanctum Thomam Herefordensem et pro aliis oblationibus factis ibidem pro eodem girfalcone .xviij.d. Thomelino Corbet existenti extra curiam per preceptum regis, primo per .viij. dies eundo de Dounameneye usque Sanctum Thomam Herefordensem peregre cum girfalcone regis, &c.* Id. ff. 253, 260.

† Jan. 10. ‡ Apr. 2, 3. § Mar. 17.

‖ Dors. p. 134, Jan. 8, 12.

of orchards had made advances elsewhere in England, but no proof is offered in this document that they had done so in Herefordshire. According to William of Malmesbury kernel-fruits, as our countrymen term the wild ungrafted apple,* had long before flourished in Gloucestershire. In both of these counties the Bishop held lands where grafted trees have since borne fruit in abundance. It will, however, be observed that in this very year he planted an orchard in Kent.†

Amidst all the parade of viands it would have helped much to fill up the picture if anything could have been detected immediately indicating their "form of cury." Pastry is now and then indulged in; once furmety.‡ Pottage and gruel bespeak the necessity of cups with covers, and saucers, often renewed to make up for losses by breakage.§ Spices were lavishly employed, not only to season their dishes, but in their beer and wines. In the store at Sugwas and in the purchases made at London‖ may be observed aniseed, cinnamon, carraways, coriander, cubebs, cummin, draget (buck wheat), galingal, ginger, gromil, liquorice, pepper, and saffron, some of them in large quantities. These, with wax and sugar, were bought at the same time as the clothing. In all accounts of this kind sugar is classed with the spices, and appears to have been kept by the same dealers. The quantity used in this family proves that it had already partially usurped the place of honey. It was to be had in loaves or by the pound, and was sold in Hereford and Ross.¶ The stock laid in was issued *(de camera)* as it was wanted for the use of the cook, who kept a spice-box and a saffron-tub of his own.** Strength and pungency of flavour were most to their taste in seasonings, and hence mustard was repeatedly in demand. As refinement was not a characteristic of the times, the coarse abundance of a well supplied diet is all that must be looked for, and in these pages it will indisputably be found.

Yet the review of this ample provision, however instructive, and it may be hoped intelligible, as far as it extends, leaves something wanting towards

* *Non insitiva manus industria, sed ipsius solius humi natura.* See Archæol. Journal, v. 302.

† Dors. ‖11.

‡ Dec. 17; Jan. 3, 8, 9, 12; May 29; June 28.

§ Nov. 30; Jan. 27; July 15, 19.

‖ Oct. 3; Dors. ‖5, 6 a, b.

¶ Mar. 16, 26.

** Oct. 23; Dec. 25; Jan. 12.

a thorough realisation of the form, the manners, and customs of their meals. Little is to be learned from the illuminations of contemporary manuscripts. Mediæval limners are usually very unsuccessful in treating such subjects; they are mannerists, and they do it in a stiff, conventional way. Behind a long board covered with a white cloth that displays with mechanical exactness the folds of the laundry, sit two or three formal personages in a row facing the spectator. Before them is a dish with a single fowl or fish, another with something like a hare or rabbit, and a third with a few apples or nondescript fruits. Here and there is a solitary knife put down at random. One or two servants at the sides are bringing in small dishes. In general there is nothing to convey an adequate representation of the profusion of such a table as this, or of such an attendance as must have been present at it, or have assisted in serving it. In our graphic record we are still somewhat at a loss. We have the food and great part of the gastronomical apparatus attached to it; the dishes, plates, and platters, by scores and hundreds, cups, saucers, and drinking cups, and the buttery tankards to fill them.* That the whole of the eatables was ultimately disposed of there is convincing proof, but the reader who may be sitting down in idea to one of these entertainments may reasonably enquire as to the distribution of it; he may, perhaps, look round for the knives, forks, and spoons so indispensable to modern hands and mouths. Particulars of far less consequence are given in the roll, while these are for the most part passed over in silence. A single knife may be detected twice or thrice as belonging to the kitchen or pantry,† but nothing like the table-knife appears. A knife was an important personal possession.‡ A pair of them in this reign was a present from a princess to her father,§ a king. The Countess of Leicester had a pair. Each individual seems to have been provided at least with one. The fork was not unknown‖ as its companion, though the habitual adoption of it is universally referred to a

* Nov. 30; Jan. 9, 27; Mar. 25; May 5; Apr. 1; June 10.

† Dec. 3, 24; Feb. 26. ‡ Lives of the Princesses, ii. 365.

§ Lib. Quot. Contrarot. Gard. 28 Edw. I.; Topham, p. 343.

‖ *Unum par cultellorum cum manicis argenti aymellat' cum uno furchetto de cristallo* occur among the *jocalia* of the royal wardrobe. These were a gift to Edward I. from Mary of Bretagne, Countess of St. Pol.

much later period. The spoon *(scutellum)* was certainly in use, but the few that are here read of are of silver,* and as such appropriated, it may be believed, to the high table.

It has been shewn that joints are never noticed, but there can be no risk in assuming that a first dissection into joints took place in the larder or kitchen; and then it may be asked, where were the secondary and immediate carvers for so many? We naturally look to the squires. Chaucer tells us of such an one in after times, that he

"Kerfte before his fader at the table."†

And here certainly were enough of them for that or any other office that became a squire. But by whatever hands this operation was performed on behalf of any or the whole of the numerous party, the probability is, in the case of meat, that every one unsheathed his own knife, whether within or without the hall, and that the process was completed by the aid of skewers and fingers. This, in part, accounts for the use of the lavatory in one of the halls.‡

Other passages shew some of the economy of domestic arrangements. The dresser and penthouse or covered way *(dressorium, penticia)*, between the door of the larder and that of the hall, over against the kitchen at Prestbury,§ bespeak a precaution that the dishes should be properly set out and protected in their transit from the kitchen to the hall. The fuel for cookery was charcoal and smaller wood, cut, burned, and fagotted by the bailiffs in the woods and coppices *(carbo, busca)*.‖ There are the fireplaces for roasting *(astra in coquina)*,¶ the furnace and pots of different sizes for boiling *(fornax, cacabi)*,** the flue or chimney *(caminus)*,†† the sink? *(stannum)*,‡‡ the skimmer *(scumarius)*, the dredger or chopping knife (*micator*),§§ canvas for strainers (*canabacium*), and fine linen for

* Dors. ‖62 q. † Prol. to Canterb. Tales, The Squier, 2.

‡ P. 180. § Dec. 25.

‖ Oct. 11, 20; Dec. 20, 29, et alibi. Fleetwood states that sea-coal was not in common use in London before about the middle of the sixteenth century. Chron. Prec. p. 118. No trace of the Forest of Dean coal is detected in the Roll.

¶ Oct. 11; Apr. 9. ** Dec. 25; Dors. ‖41.

†† Dec. 25. ‡‡ April 9; June 16. §§ Jan. 12.

sieves or safes to protect the meat in summer from the flies (*linea tela*).* The benches covered with mats in the hall at London (*scanni cum natis*),† and the rushes (*scirpi*),‡ with which the floors were strewed in the country, are the accommodations of a rude style of society, while the expensive silver plate and enormous single table-cloth § bought during this year, are tokens of a sumptuous and hospitable age.

If, tempted by these observations arising out of the recital of the household expenditure, the editor has slipped aside too far into conjecture, or wandered too tediously among trifles, it will be more than time to return.

The expenses of the roll include almost daily those of the HORSES, very frequently those of the HOUNDS. The latter were not idle appendages, nor inconsistent with the ecclesiastical character of the owner. On the contrary they were more than allowable, since they were highly useful and even necessary in collecting and turning to profit the wild stock upon his manors, and thus contributing to his annual resources. They may be truly said to have earned their oatmeal (*avena ad pastum canum*).‖ To them he owed the venison so often cited in the diary. It has already been remarked that a great portion of it passed through the salting vat; and thus became a convenient standing dish at home or on travel all the year round. Our predecessors of this æra were critically expert in all matters relative to deer-hunting, and were closely observant of the appointed seasons. That for the hind or doe began on Holy-rood day.¶ Accordingly the huntsmen are out in October. From that time, throughout Martinmas, when the household moved from Sugwas to Bosbury, in the neighbourhood of some of the best hunting ground, and up to Christmas, when the Bishop again shifted his quarters to Prestbury, great havock was made among the female deer. This season lasted till Candle-

* July 10. † P. 129. ‡ Oct. 11, 20. § Dors. ‖59, 60 q.

‖ Richard, huntsman of the Bishop of Ely in 1216, had two horses and four grooms, fifteen greyhounds, and a pack of thirty-one hounds. These had an allowance of bread or meal when necessary, and were wont to hunt in the Bishop's chase for flesh. Rot. Litt. Claus. p. 251. If this were on their own account, it seems to have been an extravagant way of maintaining them. But the see itself was in a neglected state. Robert of York was Bishop elect for five years, but was never consecrated, from 1214 to 1219. Godwin in Ely.

¶ Manwood, Forest Laws, p. 103.

mas, and that of the hart or buck began at Midsummer. At that time they are found renewing their sport with vigour,* and one of the last entries on the roll shews the care taken of the dogs, and a charge for drink supplied to the men while they were out under a July sun in the chase.† Though the Bishop was sometimes annoyed by the depredations of poachers, he appears careful not to have permitted his own pack to offend his neighbours,‡ and an instance occurs of his paying damages when injury had been done by them.§ No mention is made of a kennel; the hounds were put out at walk in the vill among the inhabitants while he was at Whitborne;‖ and he was so far from coming under the satirist's censure of riding to his manors with "an hepe of houndes"¶ at his heels, that they are never observed in attendance upon him during official journeys; and it appears doubtful whether, when he took his way to Bishop's Castle, where, it is believed, there were deer of his own, and fresh venison was brought to him

* June 20, 29; July 1, 16. † July 21. ‡ Feb. 23.
§ Dec. 16. ‖ July 19.

¶ Vision of Piers Ploughman, passus sextus. Antony a Bek, the active contemporary Bishop of Durham, confidential friend, adviser, and favourite of Edward I. was, according to his biographer, *in nullo loco mansurus, de austro in boream; et equorum, canum et avium sectator.* Rob. de Greystanes, Hist. Dunelm. in Anglia Sacra, i. 746. Hunting was canonically disallowed to the clergy *voluptatis causa*, but not *recreationis* or *valetudinis gratia*, which was permitted *etiam episcopo.* See Reliquiæ Spelmannicæ, Answer to Apologie for Archbishop Abbott, p. 109, where that writer has discussed the unfortunate case with his usual ability and learning. The abbat and monks of St. Alban's were permitted to have free warren in 1240, "for it was lawful, as appeareth in the Clementines, Tit. *de statu monast.* ‖ *Porro a venatoribus*; but it is there expressly forbidden that either they should hunt in it themselves, or be present when others do hunt, or that they should keep *canes venaticos aut infra monasteria seu domos quas inhabitant, aut eorum clausuras.*" Id. p. 207. The biographer of Sampson, Abbat of St. Edmundsbury, touches this point tenderly and in a pleasing manner. *Plures parcos fecit, quos bestiis replevit, venatorem cum canibus habens; et, superveniente aliquo hospite magni nominis, sedebat cum monachis suis in aliquo saltu nemoris, et videbat aliquando canes currere, sed de venatione nunquam vidi eum gustare.* Chron. Joc. de Brakelonda, p. 21. Among the offences of John Geraud, Prior of Leominster, brought forward at the visitation and correction of that house in 1287, it was alleged that *Idem prior vitam deserens religiosam cum canibus, avibus et personis inhonestis indifferenter, dum ibi erat, venationem saltuosam exercuit et clamosam, viris ecclesiasticis et maxime religiosis prohibitam omni jure.* Reg. Swinf. f. 43 b.

during his sojourn,* he had any other than common watch-dogs with him.† It must, however, be added that this was during the *mortua seysona*, when no game of that kind should have been caught. Upon the death of a Bishop his hounds were due, at common law, as a mortuary to the king.‡

Considering the unsettled life that they led, a strong stud of horses seems to have been equally essential to him. Those that are daily charged to account were not probably in all instances his own; they might receive additions from visitors, or be borrowed or hired. The average amount when he was halting at Sugwas, Bosbury, Colwall, or Whitborne, appears to have been between thirty and forty, and it was nearly the same during visitations. The journey to London, in the depth of winter, required more. At all times there were scarcely fewer than twenty in the stable, generally a greater number; and on feast-days, as at Christmas fifty-five, and at Easter, and once in Ross,§ they were as many as seventy. The expense in oats alone, therefore, must have been very considerable. They had hay from Michaelmas 1289, to June 17, 1290; were shifted to grass from that day till July 10, when they were again brought back to hay, and so continued up to the period where the roll concludes. While they were upon green meat they never were without their feed (*præbenda*): thus they would be always ready and in condition to work. They consisted of draught-horses, sumpters, nags, and palfreys. The stable furniture is distinctly exhibited in various places, saddles, bridles, cart and sumpter-saddles, with different articles of harness. Grooms, drivers, sumpter-pages, and farriers accompany the frequent removals, all under the direction of the stud-groom (*marescallus*). They had several vehicles, the chamber‖ and kitchen carts,

* May 11. † P. 87, note f. ‡ Whitaker, Hist. of Whalley, p. 171. § Mar. 15.

‖ The *carecta cameræ* or wardrobe carriage had a *præequitator* or postillion; and it is not improbable, neither does it derogate from the Bishop's horsemanship, that he might occasionally have indulged in the relaxation of a ride in it, for it may not be unworthy of remark that seats and cushions are in one place associated with it (Dors. ‖51.) though the writer has not specified the exact purpose to which they were applied. Such a mode of travelling might be uncommon, but was not unknown. A specimen of a coeval carriage of this kind, with a postillion, is exhibited in more than one instance in the remains of the Painted Chamber at Westminster. Vetusta Monumenta, VI. plates xxxi. 3, xxxiv. 10. The latter in the story of Naaman is very elegant; but the driver in both cases is represented on the off instead of the near horse, according to the most approved modern mode.

the short and long cart or waggon, and these, with the quantity of luggage that they contained, would require the strength of able horses to drag them through such roads as they often traversed in that wet and miry year. It will hardly admit of a doubt that, notwithstanding his habitual infirmity, the Bishop performed the greater part of his long excursions at this time on the saddle. His horse was apparently disabled before the commencement of the roll, and inquiry was made in many quarters, in Hereford and Gloucester, and different places whither they resorted, for a fresh one some time in vain. Several of his friends, among them the Abbat of Gloucester,* were unsuccessful in their endeavours to suit him. At last he had the good fortune to meet with a bay horse that had been the property of Sir Gilbert le Sauvage, deceased, for which he paid 100*s.*† For a colt for his own riding he gave a larger sum.‡ It may be inferred that his squires were mounted, from the circumstance of his having found a nag for Baseville, in the room of one that he had lost the first year of coming into his service.§ If so, it will scarcely be believed that his chaplains in waiting went on foot, or that this was the case with the *marescallus*, or the huntsmen, who would have had little chance with the deer. A horse was bought for Simon, one of the Sceluings,‖ to travel into Kent, or take abroad; and Thomas de la Dane was constantly upon the road between Herefordshire and London, London and Kent. A trainer was hired for colts, and had spurs to break them in.¶ The maintenance of horses, attached as they were at all times to the household, is one of its perpetual sources of expense in every situation. Many are the places of resort or temporary abode to which the diary refers, while it shews how the master and his servants and animals fared at each of them, how each supplied their wants while they stayed there, and how what was lacking in one manor was brought from another. That stay, however, was often of no great duration. The Bishop, indeed, seems to have wanted no earthly advantage but that of a more fixed habitation. The short but expressive sentence, "nulli certa domus," that an Italian prince caused to be placed over the entrance of his palace, might, in general with incontrovertible propriety, be inscribed upon every manse ecclesiastical, whose occupants are

* P. 146. † Dors. ‖47 a. ‡ Id. ‖60 o.
§ Id. ‖47 a. ‖ Id. ‖10. ¶ Id. ‖50.

constantly changing; but it would have derived increased and peculiar force from its application to the condition of a Bishop of Hereford in those days. It is almost impossible to touch upon this point without once more adverting to the country in which his lot was cast.* If he had so preferred, or had been permitted to select a more permanent resting-place, he had ample choice in the beauty and fertility of the land before him. That scriptural passage that he would frequently have had to recite, *Funes ceciderunt mihi in præclaris: etenim hæreditas mea præclara est mihi,*† would have been most applicable to his case. He had residences more than enough for security and pleasure, on fine rivers and in fair parks, Sugwas and Ross on the Wye, and Whitborne on the Teme, Bosbury, Colwall, and Prestbury, amidst corn and meadow land, graced with timber, and backed by the slopes of Malvern, or the hills that rise from the vale of Gloucester. And yet a great part of his time he was migratory as a Tartar or an Arab; but not this year alone, nor he alone. The prelates of these days were ever moving to and fro. Could they all have been thus itinerant by choice, though some might have been so inclined by mere love of change, they might have justly shared in the reproof of the satirist frequently cited.‡ But it arose rather from the character of their position and their professional duties; from the condition of a charge that as to property and pastoral superintendence required frequent, long, and laborious travelling, and from canonical obligations, which often called for local and personal inspection in remote parts of extensive dioceses. Be this as it may, the effect in Swinfield's case is visible. Looking at his wanderings as set forth in his registers and in this roll, and the many roofs beneath which he sheltered, it is difficult to answer the question, which was really his home?

Some separate notice may now be taken of the endorsement. This is drawn up in sections, each headed with a marginal title, but often com-

* See p. xviii. † Psalm xv. 6.

‡ The attack of the Ploughman of Malvern is rather directed against the regular clergy.

> Ac meny day men telleþ. boþe monkes and chanouns
> Han ride out of a ray. hure ruel revel holde
> And priked a boute on palfrais. fro places into maners.
>
> Visio, passus sextus.

The *places* are *loci*, religious houses.

prising particulars that might hardly be looked for under it, inserted, as appears, merely from the necessity of finding a place for them somewhere. It were unfair towards the keeper of these accounts to deny that arrangement has been attempted; and though this has not been always satisfactorily carried out, it was, no doubt, such as proved at the time sufficient for practical purposes. The endorsement has two principal divisions of winter and summer, and some of the references by dates connect it very usefully with the inner part of the roll, but they are so distributed and overlaid as to give it an air of greater confusion than really exists. Much of the information communicated in this part has already been incorporated into the preceding statements; and, as most of it is explained in the commentary, and as it will be occasionally used in illustrating the diary, a brief and tabular view of it may be all that is requisite here.

Sections ‖1 to 6 inclusive. Expenses of winter clothing of the Bishop and his dependants. Spices and wax bought by Thomas de la Dane.

‖7 to 9. Expenses of youths educating at Oxford, and other charges relating to the University.

‖10 to 13. Moneys laid out by De la Dane for travelling and apparel to sundry persons in Kent, and for the construction of buildings at Womenswould in that county.

‖14, 15. Salaries to the Bishop's champion and his advocates.

‖16. Expenses of messengers and proctors at the Roman court.

‖17, 18. Repairs and improvements of the Bishop's inn at St. Mary Montalt in London, and the premises attached thereunto.

‖19, 20. Advances made by money-lenders of Sienna in London, for equipping Gilbert de Swinfield, Chancellor of Hereford, the Bishop's nephew, on his going abroad.

‖21. More, through the same hands, for the use of John de Swinfield, Archdeacon of Hereford, another of his nephews, residing at Paris.

‖22 to 30. The winter *camera* or wardrobe account, a most undigested heap of materials. The commentary offers some clue for tracing them.

‖31 to 35. Gifts, a more intelligible section than the preceding, bearing upon the prelate's cast of mind and the habits of the age, viz. donations to dependants, needy students, friars, messengers, musicians, gratuities for services, and charities to the poor.

‖36. Discharge of a debt relating to the purchase of some land at Womenswould.

‖37. An allowance to John de Kemeseye, shewing the feeling of his master towards him, of which more will be seen hereafter.

‖38. Purchase of a small property in Ledbury, and consideration paid in adjustment of a controversy between the Bishop and the Prior and convent of Lantony nigh Gloucester.

‖39. Presents to the king and queen and certain court favourites at Westminster. Cost of entertaining the Countess of Gloucester and Abbat of Reading while they were travelling.

‖40. Arrears of Peter-pence paid to the clerk of the pope's chamber, followed oddly by

‖41. The purchase of kitchen cauldrons.

‖42 to 45. List of the household, with their winter wages.

‖46. Charges for works of husbandry.

‖47. For horses.

‖48 to 52. Summer *camera* or wardrobe account, as immethodical and adverse to disentanglement as the former, ‖22 to 30.

‖53. A special allowance to the high-steward for disbursements on a mission to the king at Rockingham to defeat the encroachments of the citizens of Hereford on the rights of the Bishop's tenants in the forest of Haywood.

‖54. Summer clothing for the Bishop and his household.

‖55, 56. More laid out at Womenswould by Thomas de la Dane before Whitsuntide.

‖57. Cancelled.*

‖58. More allowed to the high steward towards his Rockingham expedition.

‖59. Cost of a large table-cloth, charged separately by way of distinction.

‖60, 61. Two panells or sections of miscellaneous entries for purchases in which friar J. de Wormsley was employed as agent. Some of these are curious, and among them, thrust as it were into an obscure corner, are three pieces of cloth for the use of the poor.

* See pp. 186, 187, Commentary, where 62 l. is in error for 63 l.

‖62. A second and concluding list of the persons composing the household, with their summer's half-yearly wages.

Perhaps it will not escape observation that the sums total of the roll and the endorsement, though the former is incomplete, amount collectively to nearly double the income returned in the taxation. It is well for an editor that he is not obliged to reconcile every difficulty arising from his subject. Had Swinfield's episcopal profits in temporals and spirituals been all that he had to depend upon, and had every year resembled that of 1289-90, he must, at any rate, have been incurring a very heavy debt. We may, however, be satisfied, according to the suggestion previously offered,* that his income, as given in to the Commissioners, was estimated rather upon a rateable than an actual value; and moreover that he might have accidental profits not therein recorded, or annual private resources in other quarters.

It must not, however, be overlooked in the balance of 1289-90, that the buildings and alterations going on at Womenswould, and the new-year's

* P. xxvii. This may derive some additional confirmation from three several returns of the issues of the episcopate made by the receivers for the crown, during the three avoidances that occurred prior to the consecrations of Bishops John le Breton, Thomas de Cantilupe, and Richard de Swinfield. They are inserted in Reg. Swinf. f. 222 b, among sundry articles of the year 1316.

‖ *De vacationibus episcopatus Herefordensis.*

‖ *De exitibus episcopatus Herefordensis, a .x°. die Decembris anno liij° regis Henrici usque .xxj. diem Aprilis anno prædicto antequam liberaretur Johanni le Bretun .CC.lxv.li'. xiiij.d'. ob'. In computo Reginaldi de Acle. In rotulo tertio rotulorum computorum per .xix. septimanas.*

‖ *De exitibus ejusdem episcopatus Herefordensis ab .xj°. die Maii anno tertio usque .xxvij. diem Junii anno eodem antequam liberaretur magistro Thomæ de Cantilupo .CC.liiij.li'. xv.s'. iiij.d'. ob'. In computo Hugonis de Kendale. In rotulo iiij^to^. rotulorum computorum per .xj. septimanas et quinque dies.*

‖ *De exitibus ejusdem episcopatus a festo Sancti Bartholomæi anno decimo antequam liberaretur magistro Ricardo de Swyneffeud, usque octavum diem Januarii anno .xj°. CCC.lxxi.li'. ij.s'. v.d'. ob'. In computo Walteri de Rudmerleye. In rotulo .xij°. rotulorum computorum per .xix. septimanas et iiij^or^. dies.*

In the sheriff's instructions respecting issues (*exitus*) they are thus defined: *Sciat vicecomes quod redditus, blada in grangia et omnia mobilia præter equitaturam, indumenta et utensilia domus continentur sub nomine exituum.* Stat. of the Realm, 13 Ed. I. c. 39.

presents at Court, are to be classed under the head of charges extraordinary, not to recur every year.

The title of the roll, which at the opening of this abstract was taken as a guide, has led to the preceding discussion upon the bishoprick, its means, their application to the existing household, and the mode of living adopted among them. It now brings us to the Bishop himself, his chaplain-clerk, the character of the eventful year in which this document was compiled, and lastly an illustrated view of the contents of the diary.

The family of Swinfield, Swynefeld or Swynefeud, according to the then uncertain orthography of proper names, are said to have derived their origin from the parish of Swinefield, now Swingfield, five miles north of Folkestone, in the county of Kent. In that county, if not in that immediate part of it, Richard Swinfield is generally believed to have been born.* Of his parentage and the earlier circumstances of his life no memorials have been found. Greater part of the youths who were destined for the Anglican church began their course of academic studies at the schools of the different fraternities established more particularly in the University of Oxford,† then in high repute, and were members of their orders. The two powerful bodies of Franciscans and Dominicans in the latter half of the thirteenth century were in open rivalry, and eagerly contended for pre-eminence.‡ Upon the whole the former were most popular, and had secured the highest patronage.§ Pope Nicholas III. who died in 1280, made more bishops‖ from among them than from any

* Hasted, Hist. of Kent, III. 350, affirms he was born there.

† The most fashionable mode of finishing an ecclesiastical education, with those who could afford it, was to send the student to Paris (Pegge's Life of Grosseteste, 4to. p. 13) or Orleans. The primates Kilwardby and Peckham, as well as Bishop Cantilupe, had passed through this course, and Swinfield sent his nephews Gilbert and John to France for that purpose. (Dors. ‖10.) Master Peter de Cors, nephew of Aquablanca, dean of Hereford, a portionist of the church of Bromyard, had licence from the Bishop, dated Oct. 12, 1290, to study for one year at Orleans. Reg. Swinf. f. 68 a. Licences of this sort were frequently granted to incumbents who had not completed their academical education.

‡ Dors. p. 33.

§ Wadding, Annales Minorum. Romæ, 1733, fol. t. V. p. 227, a. 1289, observes that Nicholas IV. conferred many privileges upon them in this year.

‖ Raynaldus, Annal. Eccl. in a. 1280, No. 27. Saint Louis divided his patronage between them, and had a confessor of each fraternity.

other order, and they could boast of many persons of eminence* in character, ability, and station. At the time immediately under consideration, the reigning pontiff, Nicholas IV.† the late and present Archbishops of Canterbury, with other churchmen of rank, were Minorites.‡ There is some probability, though the evidence on which it rests is rather inferential than direct, that Swinfield himself may have been of that order; for it is plain that he shewed them tokens of marked attention. As they permitted their members, according to the will of their founder, to be employed to a certain extent in manual labour,§ a friar, one J. de Wormesley,‖ who served Swin-

* Bacon and Duns Scotus, with his scholar Ockham, were of this order, and belong to this century. Henry, Hist. of Engl. 4to. 1781, IV. pp. 482, 483. Wadding, ut supra, p. 240, has collected other names, but they are less known.

† He was General of the Franciscans. Matthew of Westminster, Flores Hist. a. 1292, with no friendly feeling towards this reigning Pope or the Franciscans, preserves a sarcastic epitaph composed upon his death in the above year.

Gloria, laus, speculum fratrum, Nicholae, minorum,
Te vivente vigent, te moriente cadunt.

And afterwards describes their conduct at this period in terms of jealous reprobation. *Cujus tempore fratres de ordine Minorum papam pro sole habentes, lunam archiepiscopum Cantuariensem nominantes, cæperunt sua cornua erigere in universum orbem, nulli parcentes ordini vel honori in provincia Anglicana; nam monachos et professores patris Benedicti Wigorniæ et Westmonaster. opido* (sic) *immisericorditer per potentiam et audaciam infestabant.*

‡ Kilwardby and Peckham. Godwin is a little confused about the former, styling him in one place a Minorite, and in another the provincial of the friars preachers, a term commonly appropriated to the Dominicans, though no less applicable to the others. Much of the popularity of the Franciscans arose from their zeal in preaching the Crusade, for which preparations were now on foot. It caused them to be abhorred of the Saracens, and at the capture of Acre every one of them that could be found there was put to the sword. Raynaldus in a. 1291. Their convent stood not far from the breach by which the enemy entered. See the plan of Acre from Sanutus. Gesta Dei, Bongars, II. in Archæologia, XXI. 142.

§ The words of the will of Saint Francis are said to have been, "I wrought with my hands, and I will expressly that all the brethren apply to some honest occupation." Saint Foix, Essais Hist. II. 207, in Blakeway and Owen, Hist. of Shrewsbury, II. 446.

‖ Dors. p. 188. He was not a domestic on hire, but had presents of what was necessary or useful to him; and this corresponds with the rules of the order.

field, is for that reason believed to have been one of them; and while the Bishop in two instances bestowed pittances upon the Austin friars at Ludlow, and the friars preachers in London, he sent presents of the same kind altogether to a greater amount to the Minorites of Bridgnorth, London, and Hereford.* What is still more pointed, he selected them in preference to other religious houses then in Hereford to honour them as his hosts on Palm Sunday,† the only day on which he is recorded as having dined in that city during this year. Besides, among the few qualities by which he has been hitherto described, is one common to the Minorites, of having been a preacher. More than five centuries and a half have elapsed since those eyewitnesses who could have related the story of his earlier life are departed, and the veil which conceals it is only lifted about the year 1264, when, according to his own account, he entered into the service of Thomas de Cantilupe, eleven years previous to the advancement of that prelate to the see of Hereford.‡ This event therefore must have occurred in 1275. It is not very clear in what capacity he was first attached to him; but if he began in that of chaplain, he certainly afterwards became his secretary, and that his character and conduct were such as to have secured his favour is shewn by several proofs that he gave of it. During the years 1277 and 1279 he collated him successively to two prebendal stalls in his cathedral. In the latter instance both Swinfield and Martin de Gayo, who held the prebend, and was dangerously ill, were abroad in the diocese of the Bishop of Lausanne; and Cantilupe wrote to him requesting and empowering him upon the expected vacancy by the death of de Gayo to collate Swinfield to it, whom he commends as a person in many respects signally distinguished for his moral qualities and acquirements *(moribus et scientia multipliciter insignitus)*. This was in April, 1279, and he caused him to be inducted by proxy at Hereford in the middle of May following.§ No further notice is taken of his having obtained any other promotion in the diocese of Hereford during the life of Cantilupe; but he was now, perhaps, on the road to preferment in another quarter, if, indeed, he had not already acquired it. A remarkable memorandum appears in the register of 1280, 15 kal. May,‖ exhibiting

* Dors. pp. 148, 152. Thomas de Swinfield was warden of the Friars Minors at Bristol. Reg. Swinf. f. 62 b.

† Roll, Mar. 26. ‡ Reg. Swinf. f. 64 b. § Reg. Cant. f. 44, 58 b.

‖ Id. f. 20 b, an irregular entry cancelled.

the earnest desire of Cantilupe to advance him. James, or as he is elsewhere styled John, de Aquablanca, had both resigned and had incurred sentence of deprivation with respect to his archdeaconry of Salop; and Swinfield, at this time also absent, and described as Chancellor of Lincoln, was collated to it by proxy, with a singular proviso, "if he can accept it."* The sentence of Aquablanca and his resignation, together with the arrangement in favour of Swinfield, did not however take effect; but in the meanwhile he continues rising in the Church, and in 1281 and 1282 is the prebendary of Saint Pancras and archdeacon of London. The latter was an appointment of much honour and responsibility, for it gave him precedency over every other archdeacon in that diocese, with jurisdiction over all the parishes of London and its liberties, which so lately as in the reign of Richard I. had amounted to 110 churches. His stall was on the left side of the cathedral choir, opposite to that of the dean; and the church of Saint Leonard, Shoreditch, was probably in Swinfield's day attached to the office.† Such was his ecclesiastical position when Cantilupe, harassed by his dispute with Peckham, who in a most vindictive spirit had excommunicated him, as well as by vexatious suits at the court of Rome, set out for Italy never more to return. On this expedition he took Swinfield with him in his retinue, described by his biographer as the "chief manager of his affairs, his secretary, first in authority above the rest, a prelate of great parts and virtuous conversation." The journey was attended with disastrous consequences, and Swinfield had the grief to see his honoured master expire in a foreign land. At an inn at Monte Fiascone, near Civita Vecchia, and in the Florentine territory, Cantilupe was detained on his return by a fever that put an end to his anxieties and his life. He died August 25, 1282, aged 63,‡ and the care of his remains immediately de-

* The haste with which this was done might have been in bar of some Papal provision, a subject that will be more fully explained hereafter.

† Newcourt, Repertorium, I. 59, 97.

‡ Life and Gests, pp. 208, 209, 262. His obit was established by Swinfield, with consent of the dean and chapter of Hereford, on the morrow of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, the day of his death, and it was to be first kept in 1288. Reg. Swinf. f. 45 b. His festival was afterwards ordered by Papal bull to be observed Oct. 2. Reg. Orleton, f. 39 a. Raynaldus, Ann. Eccl. t. XV. 46, in an. 1320. Bullarium Roman. I. 223, ed. 1673.

volved upon Swinfield. His flesh, the integuments of his body, with their contents, all but the heart, were deposited with much solemnity in the chapel of a religious house at Santo Severo, near Florence, Jerome d'Ascoli, a cardinal, afterwards Pope Nicholas IV. delivering a funeral discourse there.* His heart and bones, brought home by his faithful secretary and executor,† were consigned, the former to the college of Bons-hommes at Ashridge in Buckinghamshire, the foundation of his devoted friend and admirer Edmund Earl of Cornwall; the latter to a tomb in his cathedral of Hereford, whither, at the very time of which this is written, crowds of pilgrims and invalids were resorting from all parts of the kingdom, and presenting such an abundance of offerings that the wax alone became an object of contention between the treasurer and the prebendaries of the church, which was only settled in the chapter-house by a formal deed of agreement and apportionment under the hands of the disputants.‡

Three months and six days of vacancy elapsed, during which the see was in the hands of the king. Richard de Swinfield, S.T.P. was then chosen to succeed to it; his election bears date Dec. 1, and his confirmation Dec. 31. On Jan. 8, the temporalities were restored, and he was consecrated at Gloucester March 7, 1282-3. He sat thirty-four years, and dying March 15, 1316,§ was buried, it is said, in the cathedral, where a mural monument beneath an arch in the north wall of the eastern transept is still shewn as the place of his sepulture ‖ His age is unknown. At his decease he left

* Life and Gests, p. 202. Reg. Swinf. f. 64 b. Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. III. 184, ed. 1825.

† The other executors were William de Montfort, some time precentor of Hereford and dean of St. Paul's, London, and Sir Walter de Rudmarleye. Reg. Cant. f. 65 b.

‡ App. No. X.

§ Godwin. Other authorities place his death in 1317, and on the 12th of March. It was in March 1316-17. The last entry in his Register, f. 208 a, is dated March 4, 1316, at Bosbury, where in all likelihood he died. The first entry in Orleton's Register bears date July 2, 1217. The obit of Swinfield was provided for by the dean and chapter in his life-time by an instrument dated in the chapter-house on St. Margaret's day, 1302. Four marks were to be annually distributed out of the proceeds of their church of Stanton Long (Roll, p. 77), three to the canons and one to the vicars on the anniversary of his decease. Much good feeling pervades the expression of this deed, in which they acknowledge the many benefits they had experienced at his hands. App. No. XVII.

‖ It is marked No. 13 in Britton's ground-plan of the church. Hist. and Antiq. of Hereford Cathedral.

several valuable ornaments, vestments, and books to the episcopal chapel.* Two clauses, all that have probably been preserved of his will, detail this and another bequest, and, together with a bond and release given by his successor to the executors, afford some insight into the state of his affairs. The scanty provision for due celebration of divine service, which he confesses had proved a source of annoyance to him, he had thus remedied; and in consideration of the cost of these purchases, and what he had laid out in expensive repairs of his buildings, particularly the castle,† he expressed a hope that his executors and heirs might be exonerated from the charge of dilapidations. He also provided that the sum of 500 marks, that he himself had, according to ancient usage,‡ received on his accession to the see, should be paid over to the next Bishop. But so prosperous was the condition of

* The expression *in capella* seems to be confined to the private episcopal chapel, and not to extend to the cathedral. App. No. XVIII.

† The endorsement ‖17, contains evidence of his attention to the inn at St. Mary Montalt, and the oaks that he procured from Garganus in the Welsh country point to their application in repairs at Bishop's Castle. Id. ‖34.

‡ *Ab antiquo.* The earliest account that has been found of this arrangement is given in an *Inspeximus* of Stephen (de Shorne), dean of Hereford, and his chapter, reciting a deed of Ralph de Maydenstane declaratory of what had passed between him and Hugh Foliot, the preceding Bishop, and enjoining the usage, so far as in him lay, upon every future holder of the see.—App. No. XIX. A sum of money was paid over to each incoming prelate from the executors of his predecessor for seed to sow upon the manors in case the ground should not have been cropped at the time, otherwise the crop itself was to be taken. Besides this a certain number of heads of stock, with carriages and implements of husbandry, was transferred successively from the one to the other. A schedule was kept, and any deficiency was to be made good. This rule was observed by the king when he held the temporalities during any avoidance.—Prynne, Papall Usurp. III. 311. In p. 21 of the roll is a panel or list referable to this custom; and the following is a schedule of live stock passed on from Maydenstane to Aquablanca. ‖*Memorandum de bobus receptis a Radulpho quondam Episcopo Herefordensi per manum domini Petri quondam Episcopi Herefordensis. Apud From' .vj. boves. It' de Upton .x. boves .j. equum. Item de Estenor' .xij. boves. Item de Ledebury .xij. boves .j. equum. Item de Prestebury .xxx. boves .iij. equos. Item de Sevenhampton .viij. boves. Item de Barton juxta Herefordiam .xvj. boves .v. equos. Item de Topesley .viij. boves .iiij. affros. Item de Sugwas .xij. boves .vj. affros. Item de Ros .vj. boves. Item de Whyteburn' .vj. boves. Item de Boxebury .xij. boves .j. affrum. Item de Colewell .vj. boves .j. affrum. Item de Hompton .viij. boves .iiij. affros. Item de Ledebury North .xxx. boves .ij. affros.* Reg. Swinf. f. 25 a.

his manors that Orleton, who came after him, engaged to take from the executors' hands the surplusage of stock, crop, and utensils, Swinfield's private property, at a valuation of 744 pounds sterling, besides granting them a release from any demand for repairs of Bishop's Castle, or any other of the episcopal buildings whatever,* a striking proof of the increased value of his temporals since the estimate of them returned under Pope Nicholas, at any rate an indication of the good management of his private concerns.

The information offered by Godwin respecting him is very defective in character and incident; he tells us no more than that he was "a Kentish man born, one very eloquent, and a great preacher," and this in part he had probably gathered from some panegyric that, when he wrote, appears to have been attached to his tomb. That tomb, now much decayed, exhibits him in his episcopal habit, with mitre and pastoral staff;† but the half-obliterated inscription, that in letters of some antiquity is just legible under the arch of the recess in which it stands, gives merely his country, his office, and his name. "Ricardus, dictus de Swynefeld, Cantuariensis diocesis, quondam Episcopus Herefordensis." However, since he is not without what may be termed literary remains in the registered acts of his episcopate, these auxiliaries to the illustration of the Roll may contribute something towards an estimate of him as a prelate and a man.

* App. No. XX.

† He holds in his left hand a small model of a turreted edifice, and this is known to be designatory of a founder, one who has added to or restored an ecclesiastical fabric. But in what way it applies to this Bishop with reference to his church of Hereford is yet to be ascertained. This was a glorious era of church architecture, and apparently about the time of Swinfield, though the period is not exactly given, an attempt had been made to restore a part of the cathedral. The dean and chapter had taken the advice of experienced architects as to the safety of the old foundation, and upon their assurance had expended upwards of twenty thousand marks in building upon it. The ill-advised attempt proved a failure, and in Orleton's time the new work threatened to fall to the ground. It is not improbable that Swinfield had assisted them handsomely in this ineffectual endeavour at restoration. See the "Statement of the condition and circumstances of the Cathedral of Hereford in the year 1841," by the late Dean Merewether. 8vo. Hereford, 1842, p. 71, where a bull of Pope John XXII. is given stating these facts.

So far as can be collected from these and other sources, Bishop Swinfield was a consistent upholder of the doctrines and discipline of the Church in which he held this high appointment, and a firm but temperate champion of her rights and privileges. Many abuses had crept in; adverse claims and lawless infringements upon her property called for continual vigilance. Though he was not so stirring a reformer as his master had been, and did not involve himself in so many disputes, he had many controversies forced upon him by others rather than of his own seeking, in dealing with which he proved himself a healer of differences and a man of peace. In matters that required correction he would sometimes with the reasonable remonstrate, and appeal to canons of the Church; sometimes with the rude and refractory he would have recourse to excommunication; but that latter arm, so scandalously wielded in quarrels ecclesiastical, and on trivial occasions by those in supreme command during this century, he was not too forward to employ, though where he deemed it necessary he did not withhold it. In several questions that required delicate management and patient investigation he appears to have been selected with others of approved discretion to hear and determine points of difficulty. In 1286 he was summoned by Archbishop Peckham to a council in which the errors and wranglings of the Mendicants were checked and censured.* In 1289, during the sharp struggle between the masters of Oxford and their diocesan and visitor the Bishop of Lincoln, about the mode of presenting a chancellor, he was one of those mediators that were called in to adjust the disagreement, brought back the masters who had withdrawn from their chambers, and restored the deserted university to study and peace.† When the clergy, in 1296, had incurred the king's displeasure, he was sent with Ralph, Bishop of Norwich, as a deputation from Archbishop Winchelsey and his suffragans to bear letters credential to his majesty, and represent to him the state of the Church.‡ But his infirm health proved a bar to his taking so active

* Reg. Peckham, f. 120, in Ant. à Wood, Gutch, I. 325, 328.

† Wikes in Gale, II. 118, *providis et discretis mediatoribus*. Ant. à Wood, I. 326-7. Rot. Parl. 18, 19, Ed. I. No. 2, pp. 16, 22. The Oxford men always looked up to him with respect, and in subsequent difficulties condescended to solicit his pecuniary aid.

‡ Concil. Magn. Brit. et Hib. Wilkins, II. 220.

a part in public affairs as his talents and experience would have qualified him to bear, and he frequently wrote letters of excuse, still extant, for non-attendance upon episcopal congregations and consecrations, though it is manifest from the roll that he made a journey to London to attend both at a parliament and a congregation in the present year.

The circumstances under which a prelate of this age in England was called upon to discharge his office rendered it peculiarly anxious and laborious, and it was not less so in this diocese than elsewhere. The losses that the see had sustained under some of his predecessors, and the irregularities that had taken root of old, had been very imperfectly repaired by Cantilupe with all his diligence and love of order and discipline. The pope and the king were often at variance, and such embarrassments as a divided allegiance has ever had a tendency to promote placed the subordinate governors of the Church, at this distance from the Vatican, in an unenviable position. The enormous cost of appeals to Rome was a perpetual cause of complaint, while the interference of the pontiff with the right of presentations was provoking both to clergy and laity, and kept all patrons in feverish alarm. Whenever a canonry or other benefice became vacant, especially if it were a valuable one, the person who had the disposal of it could never be certain that his turn of presentation had not been sold, or furtively set aside in favour of a claimant unexpected or a foreigner unknown. Of such occurrences, and of the manner in which they were met by Swinfield, an example may be seen in the case of Richard de Pudlesdone, his faithless proctor;* and we shall have to shew another, perhaps in some respects still more curious, though not quite so unprincipled, in that of Pontius de Cors, during the month of May in the present year. In his ordinary diocesan administrations he was a stanch protector of the revenues and persons of his clergy. If they were oppressed by abstraction of tithes, or uncanonically imprisoned, he threw himself into their cause and redressed their grievances. The Church asserted an independent authority that would not endure the interposition of the civil power, and many were the jarrings to which this gave rise when her immediate servants or ordained members became delinquent. The king, according to Bracton and Fleta, could not try or degrade a clerk, nor take

* Dors. ‖16, App. No. IV.

cognisance of his offences till they had been submitted to ecclesiastical inquiry, and even then the punishment was not always committed to his hands. In the internal management of his diocese one of Swinfield's chief troubles was occasioned by the opposition and misrule of certain religious houses, those in particular of Leominster and Wigmore; the former of these resisted his authority and sheltered herself under the great Abbey of Reading, a royal foundation, to which she was a cell; and to correct the disorders of the latter his mandates and visitations proved frequently of no avail. Enough has been left to shew that if the annals of Wigmore had been written with as much freedom and fidelity as those of Saint Edmundsbury by Jocelin de Brakelond, they would have exhibited a sad picture of the cabals and uneasiness of cloistered life, the fair hypothesis of which is so captivating to many who have been weary of the world.

A few extracts from his letters and documents will justify some of the preceding representations.

In the first year of his consecration certain dependents of Sir Peter Corbet, lord of Caus, had, on the death of the incumbent, taken forcible possession of the sequestrations of the church of Worthin. The conciliatory but resolute manner in which Swinfield addressed that baron on this subject gives a favourable impression of his talent and temper. His communication is in the fashionable French of the day,* and may be thus translated:†

‡"To his dear friend in God, Sir Piers Corbet, Richard, by the grace of God, Bishop of Hereford, greeting and dear friendship with the grace and benediction of our Lord. Sir, know that we will willingly do your prayer in respect to the business of the parson of the church of Worthin, and in respect to all other reasonable things that you shall demand of us, according to our lawful ability, for we shall be much pleased to do anything that pleaseth you and were to your honour. And moreover we hope that you will do it for us, if it please you, and particularly in a matter that may turn to your honour and to the health of your soul. And therefore we pray and require you authoritatively, that for the honour of God and holy Church, you will no more suffer your people to do wrongs nor

* The historian of the literature of Europe during the middle ages has justly observed, vol. i. pp. 63, 69, that a sudden change in letter-writing from Latin to French took place soon after 1270, a fact that is confirmed by several instances in these episcopal records.

† Several of the ensuing documents are translated for the convenience of the general reader. The originals, except the first, are in Latin.

‡ ‖Domino Petro Corbet pro sequestro apud Worthin violato. Reg. Swinf. f. 3 b.

grievances to people of holy Church who are dwelling nigh unto you. We pray you that you cause your people to amend the trespasses that they have committed against the church of Worthin, for we have been informed that they take there by force the offerings and the tithes which ought in reason to appertain to the executors of Edmund Bagot, who was parson there, according to the right of the bishoprick of Hereford, seeing he died therein after the feast of St. David in the present year. Wherefore they are manifestly restricted to God and to all those who are guardians of holy Church. And therefore we pray you that you would hold them back for awhile* and until they have amended their trespass and are absolved from excommunication. This, Sir, I entreat you for God's sake that you would inquire by such persons as are of the bishoprick of Hereford, how our lord the king of England and lord Edmund his brother, and other the great lords of England who have advowsons of churches in the bishoprick of Hereford, behave by themselves and their people towards those who are parsons of their churches, and towards the goods of holy Church; and you shall find that they intermeddle not, little nor much, with their offerings, nor with their other goods appertaining to holy Church, neither by seizure nor by escheat,† unless by leave of them and their ordinaries. And also we pray you that you command your people that they permit holy Church to have her franchises that she hath throughout the world, in the place where she is in your advowson and your vicinity. For, although we be your friend and well-wisher within our little power, we can no longer refrain from doing that which the right of holy Church demandeth against these trespassers. May God for ever have you in his keeping. Dated at Ledbury the Sunday before the feast of St. Michael."

A second letter expresses the mode in which he made application to a lady of high rank upon the incarceration of one of his clergy.

‡"To the noble lady and beloved in Christ, Lady Matilda de Mortimer, Richard, by divine mercy Bishop of Hereford, with benevolence and grace of the Saviour. We have heard from those who are worthy of credit that certain persons, unmindful of their own salvation, to the prejudice of the liberty of the Church and of that which is granted to persons ecclesiastical, have taken or caused to be taken, for personal transgression maliciously laid to his charge, William Ingelraund, an acolyte of our diocese, and have imprisoned him in your castle of Radnor, and in defiance of the requisition of the Church, herein committing sacrilege, still continue to detain him in captivity. Wherefore we require and ask of your ladyship that you cause our clerk aforesaid to be delivered up to our dean of Leominster, advising the said transgressors of the Church that they make satisfaction to God and the Church in the premises. Otherwise, though unwillingly, they shall be proceeded against according to law. Farewell. Dated at Earley, the ides of April, in the first year of our consecration."

* Obscurely written in the original.

† *Ne par prise ne par eschaet.* Orig.

‡ ‖Pro Willielmo Ingelraund clerico. Reg. Swinf. f. 52 b.

A third is an application to the king on account of the violation of sanctuary.

*"To the most excellent prince and dread lord, &c. Richard, by divine permission, &c. May it please your excellency, we report with great grief of heart, that whereas John Le Bern', clerk, lately fled for his life to the church of the friars of the order of St. Augustin, nigh Ludlow, in our diocese, there to seek shelter by ecclesiastical liberty and immunity, men of Ludlow pursuing him, breaking in upon the immunity of the Church, dragged that clerk from that church, inflicting many injuries upon him, confined him horribly in the town of Ludlow, and afterwards, the coroner being his father, loosed him, so that he has now been sent thence to Salop (Shrewsbury), where he is kept in the castle in bonds, without our diocese, contrary to the liberty of the Church. Wherefore we most humbly beseech your pious excellency that, for reverence of the most high God and his holy Church, you would command the sheriff of Shropshire, by your writ, that he restore the aforesaid clerk to the church, from which as is aforesaid he was dragged by violence, that the liberty of the Church that has now been injured may, by the clemency of your royal dignity, be restored. Dated at Bosbury, 16th day of the month of August, in the year of our Lord, &c. (1299)."

As it sometimes happened that the censures of the Church were not in the first instance attended to, they were followed up by other measures constituting a part of the same system of correction. The lord of Lenhales, Sir William Devereux, had incurred sentence of excommunication for having detained the tithes of his manors, but he disregarded it. The Bishop therefore wrote to the king's justiciaries not to admit him to appear as plaintiff before them till he had made satisfaction to God and the Church for his offence. This proved effectual, and his absolution was formally pronounced at Bosbury, Nov. 7, 1290.†

Other offences against right and property he visited in the like summary manner, and occasionally with the addition of such public exposure as was suited to restrain a coarse and lawless population. The church of Ross is seated in an elevated and graceful position; literally it is founded on a rock, and from time immemorial seems to have been decorated and sheltered by trees. Whatever grew‡ in a cemetery was under the control of the

* Litera Regi directa pro clerico de Lodelawe. Reg. Swinf. f. 125 b.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 66 b.

‡ One of the constitutions of Peckham, published at Reading in Oct. 1279, ‖ *De crescentibus in sacris locis*, forbids parishioners to intermeddle with even grass or roots in consecrated ground. The composer of it, whoever he might be, framed the prohibition

rector of the place, and the protection of the canon law. The rector of Ross had therefore just cause of complaint when in 1289 the vicar and several of the principal parishioners felled nine ash-trees around the church without his knowledge or leave. Whether ignorance or defiance were the cause of this outrage, his right was maintained by his diocesan; and the offending parties, disgraced and humbled by temporary exclusion from religious privileges, were also brought to submission at Bosbury, where they received formal absolution on the vigil of Saint Bartholomew in the episcopal hall.* But the property of the Bishop himself was no less

as to trees with an eye to the picturesque, as well as the inviolability of sacred rights. *Quæ quidem arbores, cæmeteria ipsa, et loca juxta ecclesias et capellas, ubi plantatæ fuerant, non modicum condecorant.* This description of them is true with respect to Ross. Poets have seized upon it as a pictorial feature of the place. The Man of Ross, a great planter, has at least the traditionary credit of having renewed the elms upon that graceful spot. Besides the constitutions above mentioned, those of Stephen at Oxford, ‖1, in 1222, of Othobon, ‖*Ad tutelam* §ult. in 1267, and of Quivil at Exeter, c. XIV. a. 1282, had cast the shield of protection around them. Lyndwood. Wilkins, Conc. II. 140. A statute, or rather proclamation, 35 Ed. I. a. 1307, shews this to have been a repeated subject of dispute in parishes, and not only restricts the trees to the rectors, but rectors themselves to the right employment of them, whenever it should become necessary to cut them down. John Atho shews they might belong to vicars. Lyndwood, III. tit. 28, p. 267.

* Reg. Swinf. f. 120 a. These halls were places in which solemn questions were adjusted. They resembled petty courts of judicature. The Bishop had a chair in which he sat on grave occasions. There *sedens pro tribunali*, as it is frequently expressed, in official state, he received the homage of tenants or the submission of offenders, pronounced sentence or absolution, and determined such cases as fell within his jurisdiction. Curious customs of legal import were sometimes observed in their halls. When John de Bestan, on his way from Rome, surrendered the archdeaconry of Salop to the Archbishop of Canterbury, about the feast of Saint Peter ad Vincula, in 1290, he came to him in his hall at Wrotham, and, in token of resignation, placed his cap in the hands of that prelate as he sat in his chair. Reg. Swinf. f. 62 b. Still more singular was the ceremony observed by Cantilupe, when in the Saint Asaph cause he challenged the judges who had been appointed by the Court of Rome to decide upon it; and from their suspected partiality appealed to the apostolic see, and the protection of that of Canterbury, or the principal judges. This he did in all due form in the presence of many witnesses, John de Kemeseye being one, on the day after the feast of Saint Gregory, 1278. First he read the appeal in Latin, and afterwards expounded it to them in French, and was careful to have it recorded that this was done in his hall at Bosbury

exposed to depredation in that quarter. His woods to the east and south-east of the town stretched over the hills beyond Penyard and the Chase to the purlieus of the royal forest of Dean. Such ranges of woodland are usually infested by petty thieves. Of a very different class must those have been, sixteen in number, who on the night of Wednesday, in Whitsun week, June 9, 1305, entered the wood of Ross, and in spite of the Bishop's servants felled and carried off his trees. Immediate ecclesiastical censure of course followed this atrocious act. They were denounced by name in the churches of Walford, Hule (?), Ruardean, Weston, Castle Goodrich, and Hope Mansel on every Sunday ensuing; nor were they again received into the communion of the Church till they had made oath that they would transgress in this manner no more, and would make satisfaction for damages to the utmost of their power, and had submitted to the exemplary punishment of walking once round the church of Ross in their shirts on a Sunday, and once round the market on a market-day. Thomas and John Clarkson, brothers, ringleaders of this gang, were additionally sentenced to bring into the churchyard of Ross the trees so felled and removed, about the feast of Saint Mary Magdalene, and to repeat the aforesaid processionary penance on a Sunday and a market-day.* Such punishments might for awhile alarm, but did not always deter offenders of this description. Accordingly they were

before dinner. ‖*Provocatio.* ‖*Timentes ne Archidiaconus de Karmardyn et Prior de Wembrug', judices a sede apostolica delegati in causa appellationis inter nos et episcopum Assavensem nimis faventes contra nos, non citatos legitime, non monitos, nec confessos, processum ullum faciant, aut aliquam censuram ecclesiasticam in nos ferant; sedem apostolicam, et tuitionem sedis Cantuariensis, aut judices principales, si commissarii eorum attemptaverint, provocamus et appellamus in hiis scriptis.* ‖*Testes istius provocationis.* ‖*Isti interfuerunt huic appellationi. Cancellarius Herefordensis. Thomas, vicarius de Bosebury. Hugo, capellanus de eadem. Ricardus de Bodeham, clericus. Robertus de Boneshull, clericus. Magister Rogerus de Sevenak', canonicus Herefordensis. Magister Lucas, Thesaurarius Herefordensis. Magister Robertus de Gloucestria. Magister Gilbertus de Heywode. Willielmus de Ffaukeburn', capellanus, Johannes de Kemeseye, clericus, et Bartholomæus de Suntyngg', clericus.* ‖*Memorandum.* ‖*Præscriptam provocationem fecit dictus dominus Herefordensis apud Bosebury in aula sua ante prandium, et legit eam primo Latine, deinde Gallice eam exposuit coram prædictis, die Martii proxima post festum beati Gregorii, anno domini M°.CC°.lxx°.viij°.* Reg. Cantil. f. 56 a.

* Reg. Swinf. f. 147 a.

occasionally varied. Three brothers named Irreby, with two accomplices, came to the Bishop's chapel in Ross, March 8, 1306, and, fearing excommunication, confessed before William his official, Sir John de Kemeseye, and certain clerks and laymen, that they had been guilty of the same transgression in the wood near Hope Mansell, and they offered to submit to such penance as should be imposed upon them. Their sentence after absolution was this: that they should make oath to visit the church of Hereford on foot, and there devoutly offer before the images of the blessed Virgin and Saint Ethelbert, patrons of the same, whose liberties they had violated in their wood at Ross; do as much good in person as they had done harm to that wood; restrain, as much as in them lay, all others from injuring it; and pay to the Bishop, whenever required, five hundred shillings, to be levied upon them according to their future behaviour, and applied to the fabric of the cathedral.* These incidents, too tempting to be passed over, are, it must be admitted, somewhat less characteristic of the Bishop than of the country and the age.

But contempt of authority among the priesthood called forth at times a sterner tone of rebuke. The disorders and insubordination of religious houses have been adverted to. How faithfully he could act in reproving them, and how little they sometimes regarded it, is disclosed in a monition addressed a second time to the prior of Chirbury, calling upon him to correct the brethren of his convent.† He tells him that he has been informed of their rebellious behaviour, contrary to their rule of Saint Augustine, and charges him, in virtue of his obedience, to reduce them to order. His language is strong. *Ipsi fratres vestri, ut audivimus, tam sunt vani, litigiosi, garruli, vagi, et profugi super terram, quod nec Deo nec vobis, neglectâ regularis observantiâ disciplinæ, obediunt ut deberent.* Hence all the affairs of the house are going to ruin. He writes to him with anxiety and surprise; insists upon his amending this, and, should he meet with any opposition, directs him to send him the names of the rebels before the feast of Saint Michael ensuing, wherever he may chance to be in his diocese; for that he, having the Lord before his eyes, will take such measures of expulsion and castigation as he shall see expedient for the good of their own souls and the quiet of others. "And do not forget," he adds,

* Reg. Swinf. f. 155 b.

† Id. f. 50 b.

"that when I visited your convent, I ordered all these things, and some others, to be amended."*

Severity of censure seems, however, to have been rather forced upon him. He was apparently reluctant to call to account his own dean Aquablanca, who was almost always at Rome, and had uncanonically set out the proceeds of his office and all his clerical emoluments in the diocese to farm † Aquablanca had a tedious suit against Avenbury,‡ an anti-dean, and this, with other litigations at that court, lasted him several years. Swinfield himself, at the beginning of his episcopate, was carrying on several processes at Rome, yet they were less of his own seeking than of what had been left on his hands by his predecessor; these he dispatched with as much speed as could be attained, consistently with the movements of that dilatory and then rapacious judicature. The expenses were heavy. One of his proctors, Richard de Pudlesdone, was unprincipled, and proved a trial to his forbearance.§ But in this, as well as other instances, he displayed that tranquil force of character that subdues annoyance, and by endurance ends it.

Though he employed an advocate, proctor, and attorney at regular salaries,‖ to watch his interests in the ecclesiastical and civil courts, in two cases that are left upon record he preferred arbitration and compromise to forensic decision. Simon Morin, lord of Swindon, appeared before the Justices in Eyre at their assize at Gloucester, to shew that he was entitled every week to as many thorns as a man could carry, and every year to three oaks out of the Bishop's wood at Prestbury. These he affirmed his grandfather used to receive and have, but the Bishop would not now allow them. Both parties came into court, and entered into an agreement, by which Simon quit-claimed to the Bishop for himself and his heirs for ever all this right, as well as all that meadow which the Bishop held in the manor of Swindon, reserving only to himself and his heirs a common right of pasture in the said meadow, after the hay had been carried, as had been customary

* Dated at Bosbury on the day of St. Botolph, Abbat, 1286.

† The Archbishop called upon Swinfield to correct him. He then summoned him to appear and answer to the charge, and on his confession inflicted what is styled "statutable punishment" upon him. July, 1310. Reg. Swinf. f. 169 b.

‡ Dors. p. 146.

§ Id. p. 128. App. IV.

‖ Dors. ‖14, 15.

in times past. This agreement was ratified before witnesses at Gloucester, Tuesday, the eve of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, 15 Ed. I.*

His compromise with the prior and convent of Lantony in 1289-90, upon a debate about forlote-land, may be seen in the Endorsement and Appendix.†

Twice in the Roll and Endorsement he is found sending his high steward to the royal court on business, when the king was upon his progresses, once to Woodstock and afterwards to Rockingham;‡ the latter is ascertained to have been on a legal account, and it reflects upon the former a probability of its having been of the same kind.

He had some trouble and test of patience from Anianus II. Bishop of Saint Asaph. The black friar of Nanney, *Y brawd du Nannau*, as his contemporary countrymen used to call him, was of a litigious disposition, and in his time had drank deeply of the waters of strife. He was with Edward I. in the Holy Land, and on his return was placed where he could not but witness—how could he refrain from feeling deeply for?—the ineffectual struggle of his home-born prince. As Llywelyn had claimed a part of the Bishop of Hereford's possessions on the borders, so Anianus asserted his spiritual jurisdiction over several parishes belonging to his diocese, in a tract called Gordwr, at the north-western extremity of it. Cantilupe endeavoured fruitlessly to settle this controversy, and the cause had been carried to Rome, where it remained at that prelate's decease, but was referred subsequently for determination by competent judges on the spot. After some epistolary correspondence between Swinfield and Anianus, commissioners and a jury of both nations were appointed, and met there. The business was conducted with great solemnity, and the award was in favour of Hereford. This ceremony took place on Nov. 25, 1288, when the true and ancient boundary of the diocese was determined to run down the *filum* or mid-stream of Severn, from the ford called Rhŷd-wŷmma, where the river divided the lands of Sir Reginald de Montgomery and those of Sir Peter Corbet, to the ford of Shrawarden. On the morrow Swinfield came from Bishop's Castle to Chirbury, and on the next, Saint Catharine's, day he entered on horseback the ford of Rhŷd-wŷmma to the middle of the river,

* Reg. Swinf. f. 42 a, b.

† Dors. ‖38. App. No. XI.

‡ Dors. ‖29, 53, 58.

and took possession of all places and vills within the bank adjudged to him, with all the offices of visitation, preaching in them, absolving penitents, granting indulgences, and confirming youths of both sexes in great numbers. The clergy of the different parishes tendered their obedience, and all this might have been thought sufficient to settle the point. But the childish temper of Anianus could not brook the defeat, and he wrote to Swinfield with a vain hope of protracting the question. The reasonable and expostulatory reply of that prelate is much to his credit; he complained that his brother of Saint Asaph should have lent an ear to those who wished to disturb the peace between them, which he was determined to keep. Whereas he, Anianus, knew that the whole of Gordwr was claimed by his predecessor Cantilupe; that a suit had been instituted between them at the Court of Rome, and that the award had been referred to commissioners and a jury whom they had chosen; that these had given it in favour of the church of Hereford, and that the award had been confirmed by the chapter of Saint Asaph; why should all this now be dissatisfactory to him, and cause his anger? "He is doing injury to no one," said Swinfield, "who is exercising a right of his own." He told him once more in conclusion that he feared some persons had been tampering with him to destroy their mutual regard, and added plainly that he should not re-open the dispute.*

From the diary and its accompaniment a sufficient notion may be formed of the every-day tenor of his private life. If hospitality were exercised in his absence,† it is not drawing too much upon the imagination to admit a thought that many must have been welcomed where he held his temporary abodes. As to his charities,‡ the sections entitled *Dona*,§ it is conceived, very im-

* Reg. Swinf. f. 58 b. Godwin in St. Asaph. Concilia Mag. Brit. et Hib. II. The cause had lasted more than ten years, the first move in it having been made in 1277. Reg. Cantil. f. 40 a.

† Dors. ‖39, c. 60 p.

‡ The maintenance of the young Kingessuods at Oxford was no more than what was expected in those days from an ecclesiastic of his rank. But there was something in the method and measure of his patronage that was kind and encouraging when he sent so often to make payment for them and learn of their welfare; and, instead of keeping them at a distance, allowed them to come to him at Earley, on his way to London, and had them awhile with him in their vacation at Whitborne and Colwall. Dors. ‖7, et seq.

§ Dors. ‖31, et seq.

perfectly represent them. His gifts form an imposing article among the expenditure, but they were most miscellaneous. Some were for convenience, others for courtesy and state; and yet little scattered hints of benevolence are not wanting. These were not the days of compulsory rates or voluntary contributions in aid of poverty, but there were unrecorded household charities—charities of the gate;* and it is no more than an extension of a branch of that principle by which such actions are prompted, to believe that many a left hand at this period was unconscious of what its fellow did. Kings and bishops had their eleemosynaries,† who distributed duly by the way-side, and Swinfield never goes abroad on travel but his course is marked by the oft-recurring *in eleemosyna*, alms. If such distributions should be looked upon as conventional, and attached to his condition, we still are not without proofs that he had a heart. This needs not to be taken upon trust, or at second-hand. It were an injury to his memory not to admit it upon his own shewing. The following then are indubitable tokens of the fact:

‡"1. Richard, by divine mercy, Bishop of Hereford, to his sons beloved in Christ the dean and chapter of Hereford, greeting, &c. Yesterday, as we were passing through the parish of Holmer, the parishioners of that church represented to us with tears that you allow them not to bury the corpses of that ecclesiastical parish in the cemetery of Holmer, as they were accustomed of old. Indeed, we should ourselves have there performed the office of burial over a poor woman deceased, had we not

* W. de Wycumba notices this usage in the life of De Betun. He had been driven from his home by civil commotions, and on his return, *redeunt ad januam ejus pauperes Christi*. Wharton, Angl. Sacra, II. 314.

† Such was the practice when the king travelled. The royal household book of this year has entries that shew the exact sum at his almoner's disposal at such times to have been four shillings a-day. *Domino Henrico elemosynario regis, percipienti quolibet die quando rex itinerat .iiij. solidos sterlingorum, pro elemosina danda per viam, &c.* Lib. Hospit. 18 Ed. I. in Turr. Lond. *Januarius. Maius.* The section entitled *Elemosyna* in the roll of his 28th year presents a large sum, 1166*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* It was distributed not only in weekly doles to the poor, but in offerings at shrines, and masses, and in presents to mendicant friars. The numbers of indigent persons statedly relieved were usually 636, and these were greatly increased, sometimes by thousands, on intervening saints' days. In the week commencing with Sunday, Dec. 27, there was an additional number of 3,300. In that beginning with April 23, 2,200. Lib. Quot. Contrarotul. Gard. 28 Ed. I. pp. 16, et seq.

‡ Reg. Swinf. f. 3 a. ‖Pro parochianis de Holmare.

thought proper to defer to your honour. And therefore we sent two or three men of the said parish to report to you on our behalf their need of this pity, and ask your permission for such funeral. These receiving no satisfactory answer from you, have brought us word that ye will by no means allow any of the dead of the parish aforesaid to be buried in the said cemetery, except beggars, and such as die in the streets and open places. Now we, calling to mind how we treated this matter in your chapter, have reason to be surprised, more than we can express in writing, with what face they who at that time so earnestly intreated us to do them a favour, do now, as we have heard, under what influence we know not, deny our compassionate request proceeding from mere charity alone. And although, to our regret, that hath happened which we feared, yet once and again we request that ye would permit the body of the deceased aforesaid to be buried in the said cemetery, since she neither hath nor could have had means whereby she ought or could be conveyed to the church of Hereford. And be pleased to send us an answer by the bearer of these presents, what hope as to this and other particulars, by us laid before you, we ought to entertain for the time to come. Dated at Bosbury, the 13th of the kalends of November, in the first year of our ordination."

*"2. Richard, by divine mercy, Bishop of Hereford, to his son beloved in Christ, Sir John Legat, chaplain, health, grace, and blessing. Considering that he who is not in his right mind can neither cherish nor take care of others, nor even manage his own affairs as he ought, although he may enjoy lucid intervals at times, we commit to you by the presents, until we shall see fit to order otherwise, the care, custody, and guardianship, as well of the person as of the goods whatsoever, of Sir Reginald, vicar of Ledbury, now afflicted, as we have learned from credible eye-witnesses and legal inquest, with a certain infirmity of phrensy or madness, whom we compassionate in the bowels of charity; commanding, in the meanwhile, that you cause divine service to be performed in every respect as it ought in the said church of Ledbury; provided also, that you study in such wise to manage the care and custody aforesaid, wherewith, by the admission [on the receipt?] of these presents, we wholly charge you, as you will in any case precisely answer for them, not allowing the said vicar to wander about the streets or open places, or enter the church, until by the help of divine grace he shall have been restored to his former soundness of mind. Farewell. Dated at Colwall, the 3rd of the kalends of August, in the fourth year of our ordination."

To these traits in the character of Swinfield may be added his grateful affection and veneration for his master. One of the leading objects of his latter life, from the time of his advancement to the see as successor of Cantilupe, was to obtain the canonisation of him whom he reverenced perhaps as much as any mortal with whom he had ever held intercourse. During the present year he will be seen as the first mover of the process that led to

* Reg. Swinf. f. 34 b. ‖Tutela vicarii de Ledebury.

it, and for at least sixteen years he spared neither pains nor expense in his endeavour to obtain it. But he was not permitted to witness the accomplishment of this end, and the long-cherished hope of it descended with him to the grave.

The little that can be ascertained concerning John de Kemeseye, chaplain, house-steward, and keeper of the roll, is soon told, but redounds to his honour. Receiver and discharger of all the Bishop's dues, and manager in general of his finances, he appears, if the comparison may be allowed, to have held under Swinfield that post of unlimited trust that the favoured Hebrew of old occupied under his lord the Egyptian; for nothing can be more literally true than that "he found grace in his sight, and he served him, and he made him overseer of his house, and," in this sense, "all that he had he put into his hand."* So seldom in the secular concerns of receipt and payment did the good prelate of Hereford interfere, while he had such a confidential assistant to depend upon. And if this picture be deemed overdrawn, the Bishop himself must take the blame, who ought best to have known one on whom he thus implicitly relied, and to whose integrity he has borne most direct testimony in a release that he granted him twenty years after the date of the roll, and caused to be inserted in his register that it might be handed down to posterity.

†"To all sons of holy mother church, to whose notice the present letter shall come, Richard, by divine permission, Bishop of Hereford, salvation everlasting in the Lord. Whereas it appeareth to us of a truth‡ that Sir John de Kemeseye, priest, now treasurer of the church of Hereford, hath, in the receipt and disbursement of the whole of our money, almost from the time of our consecration, laboured faithfully in our service according to his ability, and hath hitherto rendered us faithful account of such receipts

* Genesis, c. xxxix. v. 4.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 178. ‖Literæ concessæ Johanni de Kemeseye de non reddendo computum.

‡ In the original *verisimile*. According to the French adage *le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable*, and in this view the expression *verisimile* might insinuate the reverse of a commendation, or even a compliment. But the use of the word in a positive sense is not singular, and it is intended to describe a *bonâ fide* confidence in the individual to whom it is applied. See Arr. XI. 2, p. 216, where it evidently signifies *likely*. A similar testimony from the King to the probity of Walter de la Haye, one of the ancient Herefordshire stock of the De la Hayes, his escheator in Ireland, opens, however, in a far more cordial strain. *Cum de plano scimus*, &c. Rot. Pat. 18 Ed. I. in Turr. Lond.

and expenses as is usual, and we very firmly believe that the said Sir John will for the future, during his continuance with us in such office, as aforetime, without offence of Almighty God, faithfully receive and expend our money, from whatsoever quarter proceeding, and the residue thereof will wholly deliver up to us, our assigns, or executors: We, by the tenor of the present letter, exonerate and quit claim now and hereafter him the said John de Kemeseye, his heirs, and executors, for us, our heirs, and executors of our will, and our assigns, from the incumbrance of giving in a reckoning or account of the receipt, administration, and expending of the whole of our money which shall have or for the future shall come into his hands by any means whatsoever, and from the arrearages of the whole of his accounts, which he hath rendered concerning the receipt and administration of our money before auditors by us thereunto assigned. Nevertheless, the said Sir John hath faithfully requested of us, that so long as he shall interfere in the administration of our money for the time to come, he shall yearly, at the end of every year, deliver tallies and rolls touching such administration to the auditors of our accounts, and shall to them exhibit the whole of our money remaining, or shall even deliver it up to them at the pleasure of us or our executors. Not that we would by this that any impediment or prejudice should be occasioned to the aforesaid Sir John, his heirs, or executors, as touching our acquittance and discharge aforesaid granted to him; but that in all and every the aforesaid, credit should be given to the simple assertion of the said Sir John, without the incumbrance of another proof, and without judicial enquiry. In witness whereof, the impression of our privy seal hath been appended to these presents, in the presence of Stephen de Thanet, rector of the church of King's Pyon, Hamon de Sandwich, rector of the church of Whitborne, Nicholas de Aka, vicar of Stretton and Ashperton, of our diocese of Hereford; and Adam de Dilŷneton, notary public, for this purpose specially convened. Dated at Bosbury, on the 7th day of the month of May, in the year of our Lord 1309, and the twenty-seventh of our ordination."

But Kemeseye and Swinfield had been in the service of Cantilupe from about the same period. A proctor of that name was employed by him in a suit against Sir Hervey the dean, and the chapter of Saint Paul's in 1275;* and, whether he be the identical person of whom these notices are collected, or otherwise, it will hardly admit of a question that our John de Kemeseye was in the household and retinue of that Bishop at intervals, if not permanently, from about that time to the death of Cantilupe. At Michaelmas 1276 he was an acolyte, having the custody of the church of Little Wenlock committed to him. In the following January he is found among those who were present at a visitation of the priory of Leominster, and two years after, in 1278, he was one of the witnesses at a remarkable protest made in

* Reg. Cantil. f. 6 b.

the hall of Bosbury respecting certain judges in the Saint Asaph cause. He was incumbent of Ullingswick about 1279, and of Michel Dean in 1280.* His advancement then fell into the hands of Swinfield, who in the early stage of their connection was not backward to express his approval of him. In 1283 he was rector of Eastnor, and in the same year was collated to Colwall. In 1285, probably also before, he was a chaplain to the Bishop, but he continued to hold Colwall till 1297, when he became rector of Ross, and on the death of Nicholas, the vicar, about that time, the vicarage and rectory were united in his favour. In 1302 he was made prebendary of Moreton Parva, which he resigned within a twelvemonth for that of Barton nigh Colwall. On the death of Nicholas de Reygate in 1308, he appears to have given up Ross, and accepted of the treasurership of the church of Hereford, which he continued to hold as long as any mention is made of him or his patron in the episcopal annals. As a final act of kindness and reward for services not merely acknowledged in words, or by the privileges of the legal release of 1309 already cited, the Bishop, in 1313, put him in possession of an estate, under circumstances and terms intended to be gratifying to himself and his heirs. The land, with a house and appurtenances, was in Colwall, and had been in the hands of a Gilbert Barri; it was conveniently situated both with reference to Swinfield and his steward. The Bishop himself drew more and more towards Bosbury during the latter part of his life, as his registered memorials prove, and they were probably never much apart. Kemeseye is a witness to instruments executed at that place in the spring of 1316, but soon after both he and his master disappear almost simultaneously from the records of the see.† Another treasurer of Hereford comes forward in May 1317. If Kemeseye survived to withdraw to his estate on the demise of his benefactor, it was apparently but to make way for his heirs. He has been traced no farther. In process of time it should seem that this property in Colwall, or a part of it, reverted to the see. In the sixteenth century, when the bishoprick of Hereford was despoiled of its best manors, the name of the household steward was not utterly forgotten in that quarter; and he who drew up a survey of them

* Reg. Cantil. ff. 26 b, 56 a, 64 b.

† Reg. Swinf. ff. 5 a b, 29 b, 120 a, 136 b, 141 a, 161 b, 183 a, 198 a, 199 b.

has left this observation, that there was then good timber growing upon what was still denominated *Kemeseye's land.**

A copy of the original deed of enfeoffment to this estate was registered under the year in which it was granted, and may be thus rendered:—

†"To all sons of holy mother Church to whose notice the present letters shall come, Richard, by divine permission Bishop of Hereford, salvation everlasting in the Lord. Know ye, that we have given, granted, and by this our present charter have confirmed to our beloved in Christ, Sir John de Kemeseye, treasurer of Hereford, for his homage and service, all that land which Gilbert Barri sometime held in Colwall of our predecessors, bishops of Hereford, with a messuage, buildings, and all other things to the said land appertaining, woods, parks, feedings, and pastures, ways, paths, and all other easements, to have and to hold to him and his heirs and assigns freely, quietly, well, and peaceably, and by inheritance for ever, paying thereout yearly to us and our successors one mark sterling, and doing the service thereupon due and accustomed. Provided nevertheless, that when relief shall happen to be paid to us or our successors, bishops of Hereford, the said John, and any one of his heirs or of his assigns, be not burdened with more than half a mark, nor any more money be exacted of him under pretext of the yearly rent of one mark aforesaid, whereas the aforesaid Gilbert and the tenants his predecessors of the aforesaid land, with its appurtenances, were not accustomed to pay more of yearly rent than half a mark, nor for relief when it occurred more than half a mark. In witness whereof we have thought fit to confirm this our present charter with the protection of our seal. Witnesses, Sir William de Mortimer, our then high steward, Sir James de Henley, canon of Hereford, John de la Ffelde, our then bailiff, Walter le Chaumberlayn, Robert de Masynton, A. de la Hull', of Cradley, William de Schireburn', Warin de Chevenham, Roger Raye, Godfrey, clerk, John de Stannord, Ivo de Dane, and many others. Dated at Bosbury, the 28th day of the month of March, in the 31st year of our ordination."

To this is appended a letter of attorney addressed to John de la Coumbe, bailiff of Colwall, to put John de Kemeseye in possession of the estate.

The family of Kemeseyes were, however, by no means an obscure set of persons in these parts. A Robert de Kemeseye had been retained by Bishop Cantilupe in 1274 as proctor in his cause against Gilbert de Clare.‡ Walter of that name was instituted to the vicarage of Lindridge in July 1277, and presented, in Nov. 1292, by the convent of Worcester, to the church of Saint Martin in that city. Thomas was ordained at Reading by

* Butterfield MS. Survey, taken in 1577 and 1578, f. 71 a.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 183 a. ‖Carta data domino J. de Kemeseye de terra Barri.

‡ Reg. Cantil. f. 48 a.

Bishop Swinfield in Advent, 1287.* But another Thomas must take the precedency of these churchmen. He was the contemporary abbat of Tewkesbury, who received the benediction from Godfrey Gifford, Bishop of Worcester, on Trinity Sunday, 1282, and was at this time ruling that house. He died in 1328.†

Kemsey, or sometimes Kempsey, according to modern spelling, the place from which they took their name, is in the county, and between four and five miles south of the city of Worcester. The bishops of that diocese had a palace there, at which Henry II. held his Court, and Simon de Montfort, with his royal prisoner, Henry III. lodged previous to the battle of Evesham. The writer of this roll, besides what has been related of him as to the parish of Colwall, was long remembered in the church of Kemsey, where he founded a chantry well endowed for masses at the altar of the blessed virgin, for his welfare in life, his own soul, those of his parents and benefactors, and of all the faithful departed. He left rents for a taper to burn before her altar, and in his grants for these purposes took special heed to secure the respectability of such as should officiate at those services, by regulations drawn up with the minutest care. The instrument, which is of great length, has been printed by Nash.‡ It bears date at Bosbury, Feb. 4, 1315. The seal of Swinfield was attached to it, and among the witnesses may be recognised the name of Robert de Kingessuod, rector of the church of Cradley, whom with his brother Richard, incumbent of Colwall, as we have seen, the Bishop had sent to be educated at the University of Oxford. §

The only particular in the title of the roll that remains undiscussed is its reference to the years in which it was written. And here a few observations upon certain subjects that in the course of them occupied the minds of men, and shed an influence upon society in this realm, may be serviceable

* Reg. Cantil. in a. 1277. Ann. Wigorn. Angl. Sacra, I. 514. Reg. Swinf. f. 47 a. One Richard occurs as a messenger bringing news to the king of the death of Isolda de la Hide, Abbess of Hoges, near Dublin. Prynne, Pap. Usurp. III. 382.

† Bennett, Hist. of Tewkesb. 8vo. 1830, pp. 117, 118.

‡ Hist. of Worc. II. 31, 32, 33.

§ Dors. ||7, 8, 9. So late as Aug. 1313, Richard had a dispensation for absence till Christmas, *vacare scolasticis disciplinis, et ecclesiæ suæ et suis negotiis.* R. Swinf. f. 184 b.

towards a further illustration of the following pages, and help to connect the reader with the occurrences and feelings of the time.

The years 1289 and 1290 with respect to England were, in a natural view, of no ordinary cast, the close of the one and the opening of the other being memorable for the deranged condition of the atmosphere and disturbance of the seasons. They were such as baffle the expectations and defeat the operations of the husbandman. Something has been already shewn of this in describing the state of the markets from later authorities;* but it is more vividly set forth by a contemporary, who, to all appearance, received his impressions from what he has thus detailed. "From the feast of Saint Michael,"† says Wikes, "to the feast of the Purification of the blessed Mary there was little or no frost, nor once any snow to cover the ground. Day and night without ceasing there was such an abundant fall of rain that hardly a ray of sunshine even for a moment glanced upon the surface of the land; but day after day throughout the whole of the aforesaid period passed away in that sort of twilight which foreruns the rising or the setting sun. In that same year, on a night between the feast of Saint Andrew the Apostle and the birth-day of our Lord, very terrible thunder was heard, and violent flashes of lightning were seen to dart through the air, such as have seldom happened at this time of the year, probably designed as a presage of something to come to pass. After the Purification the outpouring of rain ceased, and through the spring a milder air succeeded and a most delightful serenity of sunshine, so that during the month of March there was hardly any rain."‡ The effects of this irregularity were, however, felt immediately, and continued to be felt during a whole generation. It fully accounts for the fluctuations and ultimate advance in the price of grain observable in our diary; and, if we may descend to pick up a proof from an obscure corner, for that condition of the oats which so frequently required to be passed over the kiln before they could be rendered dry enough to be ground

* P. xlii.

† Almost the whole of the preceding July was windy and rainy according to the Worcester annalist. *A VI. Non. Julii usque ad III. Cal. Augusti pro majori parte tempus pluviosum extitit et ventosum.* Ann. Eccl. Wigorn. Angl. Sacra, I. 510.

‡ Wikes in Gale, II. 120.

into meal for the hounds *(in siccatione avenæ ad canes,)** a thing apparently trivial in itself, but, like many trifles, exalted into some importance when taken as confirmatory of the graver representation of the historian. A similar proof of the coming scarcity turns up in the royal household book of the same year. John, the otter-hunter, is allowed from Christmas to the end of February, one halfpenny per day for each of his dogs, on account of the dearness of corn at London.†

This disorder of the elements was really typical of what had existed in the civil and moral condition of the country. Some remarkable incidents present themselves to notice at this juncture, more or less implicated with the subject of this document, and chiefly within the limits of its date. The reign of Edward I. was strikingly replete with project and action, and this part of it was peculiarly so, not only in England, but throughout the Christian continent of Europe. Ever since the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, a hundred years before, the power of the Christian occupants of the Holy Land had been on the decline; and now they had been pushed by the Saracens more closely to the coasts of Syria. Dissolute in manners and divided by factions, they could no longer hold out against inveterate enemies, and their affairs were reduced to the lowest ebb. Tripoli, in 1288, had been taken with great slaughter; no Christian city, no prince of Palestine had come to its aid,‡ and just fears were entertained that all their possessions in that country would soon be lost. The reigning Pope, in his anxiety to awaken a crusade, wrote to remind the king of England of a vow he had some time made to return to the Holy Land in arms, and from his former gallant bearing in those parts all eyes were directed towards him. Edward had so far encouraged the notion as to have proposed certain conditions preliminary to his collecting and embarking a force. He wanted

* Oct. 20, Dec. 16, Feb. 22, 27, April 9, July 19.

† *Oterhunte.* ‖*Quarto die Martis Johanni le Oterhunte pro putura canetlorum suorum a* 25 *die Decembris, videlicet a natale Domini usque ultimum diem Februarii, utroque computato, per* 66 *dies, quolibet cane percipiente per diem obolum pro caristia bladi Londoniæ.* Lib. Hosp. 18 Ed. I. in Turr. Lond.

‡ Michaud, Hist. de Croisades, II. p. 448. In his Bull of Oct. 7, 1289, the Pope calls it *dolorosam captionem et destructionem Tripolitanæ civitatis.* Rymer, I. p. ii. 714.

sinews for the war, and requested a grant of a three years' tenth * of the revenues of the clergy throughout England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. A correspondence had been and was still going on between them; and the survey for the purpose of this levy, which exists among our national records,† was at this time on foot, and carrying on by Commissioners in the several dioceses. By it the value of every species of ecclesiastical property, spiritual and temporal, for the time being is ascertained, and frequent references are made to it in the course of our illustrations.

To form some notion of what the state of society had been and still in some degree continued to be, we must go back to the departure of Edward for France in 1286. He made vigorous attempts to settle the internal affairs of the kingdom before he went abroad. The statute of Winchester, passed in 1285, represents England as a scene of outrage and confusion. It admits that murder, theft, and arson abounded more than they had heretofore. The hundreds were therefore made answerable for robberies.‡ No one, unless his host would be responsible for him, was allowed to lodge in the suburbs, or without a town, from nine o'clock in the evening till break of day. From the feast of the Ascension till Michaelmas six men at every gate, in every city, twelve in each borough, and six or four, according to its size, in each smaller town, were to watch all night, and if any stranger passed by he was to be detained till morning. Highways to market-towns were to be widened; that there might be neither ditch, tree, nor bush, whereby a man might hide himself to do mischief within two hundred feet on either side of the road.§ Every male between fifteen and

* Edward asked for six years in all: three to be paid previous to the passage, and three after it had taken place. Id. p. 705.

† See ante, p. xxvi.

‡ See in Madox, Firma Burgi, pp. 157, 158, a curious case of two merchants of Northampton, who were robbed by a numerous gang of thieves in a wood in Gloucestershire, 21 Edw. I. The delinquents continued their depredations, and half a year after were caught and beheaded at Norton, near Evesham. The merchants sued the hundred where the offence was committed, upon this statute in the Court of King's Bench, and recovered damages. One of the thieves was a Herefordshire man. John *le Taillur de Ledbury*.

§ In 1305 a murder was committed by unknown hands upon one Walter Swŷft as he was passing through the Bishop's wood, called Brinkestye or Brinxstie, lying in the

sixty years of age, according to his lands or goods, was to be provided with harness to keep the peace after the ancient assize. He that had fifteen pounds in land, or forty marks in goods, must have a horse, hawberk, sword, and dagger. He that had ten pounds must find the same, excepting a horse. Others of less ability were to have bows, swords, and knives; and a view of armour was to be taken twice in the year by proper officers, constables, and justices.* With a particular eye to the security of Herefordshire and the parts adjacent, the King, relying upon the fidelity and diligence of the sheriff, Henry de Solars, committed that county and castle to his special care, that he should use his best endeavours to keep the peace, nor suffer any suspected persons to harbour or hold meetings in the city, or any where within his bailiwick, but to arrest and detain them in safe custody till further orders.† Scarcely could the statute above cited have taken full effect when Edward embarked for France. Its provisions were either imperfectly attended to or were insufficient to answer their end.‡ Though the bush might be cleared, and the towns watched like garrisons, the traveller and merchant could hardly have been safe in the highways, and where these

parishes of Bromyard and Whitborne, in the road through the said wood, *quæ non fuit elargita secundum formam statuti.* An information was accordingly laid against the Bishop, but the road was proved to have been sufficiently wide, and the prosecution was dropped. Reg. Swinf. f. 148, a. b. Dors. ¶38 b. Butterfield MS. ff. 133, 134.

* Stat. of the Realm, pp. 96, 97, 15 Ed. I.

† Madox, Hist. Exch. c. 23, II. n. e.

‡ Proof of the infliction of minor punishment, and of the disgrace attached to it, may be extracted from the following anecdote. Hugh, the son of John Herrof of Saint Ives, whose anxiety as to his personal appearance bespeaks him a gentleman, had the misfortune to lose part of his left ear by the bite of a horse. It was therefore considered necessary that he should be provided with a patent, certifying that his blemish arose purely from that accident and from no other cause. ¶*Pro Hugone filio Johannis Herref de quadam parte auricule sue amisse.* ¶*Rex omnibus ballivis, &c. salutem. Quia ex testimonio fidedignorum pro certo intelleximus quod Hugo filius Johannis Herref de Sancto Ivone quandam partem auricule ejus sinistre casualiter ex morsu cujusdam equi amisit, et non alia de causa: Nos veritati testimonium perhibere volentes, ne de ejus occasione morsus predicti sinistra suspicio habeatur, eidem Hugoni has litteras nostras inde fieri fecimus patentes. T. R. apud Westm. 10 die Junii.* Rot. Litt. Pat. 18 Ed. I. in Turri Lond. The taking out of this patent offers the natural inference that some were going about without ears.

passed through forests must have been doubly insecure,* when bands of ruffians were strong enough in broad day to defy all authority and law. A most atrocious act was committed at Boston in Lincolnshire. At a great fair, and during the expected gaieties of a tournament, when dealers from all quarters had collected their wares for sale, one of these gangs, disguised

* Foresters were in general an impudent and abandoned race. Those of Feckenham, in Worcestershire, where the King had a palace or hunting seat, incurred his particular displeasure by their depredations. He dealt summarily with them in the spring of 1289-90, when he progressed there, by committing them to prison. In the following autumn they insulted the prior of Worcester, near Herforton, as he was travelling along the road, robbed his servants of their bows and arrows, and sounded their horns on all sides against him. Ann. Wigorn. ut supra, I. 511. But the monk does not tell us what may be learned elsewhere, and was perhaps one cause of the insult, that his own prior had been a trespasser in the said forest, and was fined for it. Rot. Litt. Pat. 18 Ed. I. in Turri Lond. In cases of trespass by hunting or border hostility the foresters and others used to shout and blow their horns, to bring in the country to their aid. Hence the northern border-tenure of cornage. Blount, Tenures, ed. Beckwith. 4to. Lond. 1815, pp. 96, 447. Llywelyn complains to the King that he was treated disrespectfully in this way by his servants while he was chasing a stag in Merioneth, in 7 Ed. I. *Excellenti domino meo domino, Edwardo, Dei gratia, regi Angliæ et domino Hiberniæ et duci Normanniæ, devotus ejus vassalus L. princeps Walliæ, dominus Snaudon', salutem et paratam ad beneplacita voluntatem. Cum nos cum venatoribus et juvenculis nostris alias eramus apud Merrionyth in venando, quidam cervus effugit ante venatores et brachetos nostros per amnem de Dyvi usque terras vestras de Geneviglyun et ibidem fuit inventus per dictos venatores nostros, ministrales vestri de partibus illis et alii devenerunt ad eos, et statim cum clamoribus et cornibus banniverunt ad se fere omnes de patria, sicut acrius faciebant in guerra. Nostrum equidem cervum abduxerunt a nostris venatoribus, et eosdem male tractaverunt, quod quidem fuit inauditum prius. Unde regiam majestatem vestram exoramus et requirimus cum affectu, quatenus intuitu justitiæ ac nostri, si placet, amove, plenam amendam nobis in præmissis fieri faciatis, et vobis vindictam, si placet, a dictis transgressoribus capiatis, ne de cetero audeant taliter nos pertractare. Datum apud Havot ŷ Llan, 13 die Augusti.* Royal Letters in the Tower, No. 1328, 7 Ed. 1. The result is unknown: this occurred in happier days, when the King and Prince were upon the best terms. But, as there had been a sort of Chevy-chase scuffle, the communication might have been made to obviate any malicious report that the boundary had been crossed in a hostile manner, and the peace had been broken; whereas he had only been in pursuit of game on his own side of the Dovey, as he says, treating it lightly, "with huntsmen and lads of ours" (*cum venatoribus et juvenculis nostris*), when the hart crossed the river before the hounds into the King's territory. Does not even the diminutive *brachetos*, little hounds, show his wish to soften down the affair?

as monks and canons, under the direction of a desperate leader, attacked the unsuspecting multitude, rifled the stores, and amidst fire and bloodshed carried off an immense booty.* One cause of such disorders suggests itself. An armed population, unless counterbalanced by salutary restrictions, is a two-edged weapon of state. A great proportion of the existing race of Englishmen had been cradled and nurtured during intestine broils. Many were still living, and in the flower of their age, who had fought with Edward and against him in the battles of Lewes and Evesham,† and imbrued their hands in the blood of their brethren. Many, like the tenants of Cantilupe, had served at his feudal summons and followed him through the wild campaigns of Wales. Habits of just and honourable soldiership once established are not easily forgotten, much less those of lawless rapine; and, above all, the effects of the cancer of civil war are most difficult of extirpation among a rude people. It would have been some consolation to the peaceable amidst scenes of violence if, while the government was weak, the administration of justice had been pure.

In concert with this was the spirit of discord always festering in the Welsh borders. It had never been thoroughly appeased. Private quarrels were pushed to fatal extremities. In the irritable land of Ewyas, beneath the Black Mountain, where men so often went armed, and where ready weapons‡ hung over the hearth of almost every substantial householder, even to the time of our immediate forefathers, here and in the many parishes and manors of Englechere and Walechere,§ that ran along on either side throughout the marches, there lurked too often an avenger of blood. Churches and their sacred inclosures were not always a safe resort for the fugitive.‖ The

* Knighton places this in 1285, but Wikes and Trivet assign it to 1288. Macpherson, Ann. of Commerce, i. 443.

† Lewes, fought May 14, 1264; Evesham, Aug. 4, 1265.

‡ Representations of some of these weapons may be seen in Duncumb. Collections, II. p. i. 315.

§ Dors. ‖34, and Commentary.

‖ Those of Saint Briavels, Ludlow, and Clun had witnessed sanguinary outrages during the episcopate of Swinfield, and some had been reconciled according to the established rites. Reg. Swinf. ff. 1 b. 125 b. 175 a. At Turnaston, in the Golden Vale, in 1298, an armed party, instigated by Hugh Devereux and Richard Dansey, took forcible possession of the church, the chapel of St. Leonard, and the houses of the incumbents;

same vindictive spirit rankled in the breast of the nobles and of the people. A bitter quarrel pending between the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford ravaged Breconshire in 1290, swept away flocks and herds, and was attended with loss of life on either side. It was a genuine border feud led on by the men of the Earl of Gloucester with his emblazoned banner displayed, *cum vexillo de armis ipsius comitis explicato:* the shares of the booty were coolly adjusted by ancient border usages, and one-third went to that chieftain, "as it is fit the lord should have in time of war, and according to the custom and law of the march." It was aggravated by subsequent forays of thieves and vagabonds, "*eskettors*," from the land of Morgannon, in the same direction, into the land of Brecknock, who pillaged and carried off the chalice from the church of Penyderin, and committed much wanton depredation in the territory of the Earl of Hereford.*

Jealous chieftains wrangled about the extent of their authority and the exercise of their power, though the prerogative of the King was supreme throughout the marches.† Edmund Mortimer, of Wigmore, got into a difficulty with Bogo de Knoville, constable of Montgomery Castle, in the neighbourhood of Bishop's Castle, and bailiff for the King in that quarter. A man belonging to the Bishop of Hereford having been killed about this time, the assassin fled into the land of Mortimer, who arrested, tried him in his court, and executed him; instead of remanding him to the King's jurisdiction of Montgomery, as he had been repeatedly required. Bogo complained of the interference, and Mortimer was declared by this act to have totally forfeited his liberty of Wigmore. It was restored to him, however, by special royal favour, upon his compliance with the terms of his sentence,

and the Bishop intreated the King to command the sheriff to remove them, that the ministers might exercise their sacred offices in peace. Id. f. 124 b.

* The Earl of Gloucester seems to have been the aggressor. The cause was brought into Court on a special commission at Abergavenny. Among others the bailiffs of Grosmont, Skenfrith, and White Castle assisted at the inquest; and at the conclusion of the trial the Earls were sentenced to imprisonment and a fine of 1,000 marks apiece. The imprisonment appears to have been little more than matter of form. Rolls of Parl. I. 70, et seq.

† The doctrine of the day as to the marches was thus laid down during the trial of the above mentioned important cause. *Nullus in hac parte potest habere marchiam domini regis, qui pro communi utilitate per prærogativam suam in multis casibus est supra leges et consuetudines in regno suo usitatas.* Riley, Placita Parliamentaria, p. 77.

a part of which was the payment of one hundred marks. The remainder of it, gravely determined upon by the King in council, is a barbarous mixture of the serious with the ludicrous, which, in spite of its having been *per ipsum dominum regem et concilium consideratum*, seems to have been conceived and carried out almost in the spirit of ridicule. The man was dead and doubtless buried; but he must be re-executed by proxy. Mortimer was commanded to deliver to Knoville an effigy of him in his name; and this was hung up as a representative of the offender.*

The King's return from France was expected with great anxiety: he landed at Dover, Aug. 12, 1289, just seven weeks before the commencement of our Roll. Instead of hastening immediately to the capital, he took a circuit to the northward, and subsequently hovered about for some time in Surrey and Hampshire. His journeys, apart from warlike operations, were never without their appropriate motive; but were often combined movements, made up of business, recreations of the field and forest, and devotions at shrines in pilgrimage. This was probably a tour of inquiry, precursive of an important measure in agitation. About Michaelmas he came to London. Reports had reached him from many quarters of the gross injustice of which his corrupt judges and law-officers had been guilty while he was abroad. The correction of so monstrous an evil was one of the great features of this eventful year. For redress of this and other abuses he called a parliament at Westminster after the ensuing feast of Saint Hilary; and in the mean time issued writs to the sheriffs of the different counties, commanding them to proclaim, that all who had any complaint to make against his magistrates, judges, foresters, and functionaries in general, for misbehaviour in his absence, should appear at Westminster on the morrow after the feast of Saint Martin (Nov. 12), there to shew their grievances.† Previous to the assembling of parliament the King kept his Christmas in great pomp and festivity at Westminster, where his prelates and nobles assembled around him with gratulations and gifts. On this occasion Bishop Swinfield travelled to London to present himself and his offerings to

* Rolls of Parl. 18 Ed. I., I. 45. Riley, pp. 63, 64. Yet, after all, it was in better taste than those disgusting gibbetings that were exhibited authoritatively on the restoration of Charles II.

† Rymer, I. p. ii. 714.

their Majesties at the court. He also attended at a congregation of bishops then sitting; but cannot be said to have taken his seat in parliament. He remained in London only five whole days, during three of which he was at Westminster, and on the feast of Saint Hilary he set out on his return home.* Other parliaments were held during 1290, as at Easter and Trinity; but at neither of these was he present, for at these seasons he was at Colwall and Almeley occupied with his diocesan duties. From some inexplicable cause much obscurity prevails as to the history of parliaments during the years 1289 and 1290; and it has been remarked that their records hitherto published do not contain any evidence respecting transactions which appear to have excited much attention amongst the contemporary historians.† This is remarkably true as to the proceedings against the unjust judges. Little has been handed down except the names of the delinquents, and a general statement of their offence, their plunder, fines, and fate.‡ Only two upright men among the whole, according to the usual accounts, could abide the ordeal, John de Metingham and Elias de Beckingham.§ There remains no chance‖ of correcting so sweeping a statement.

* Roll, pp. 39 et seq. Dors. ‖39.

† Palgrave, Parl. Writs, I. 14. Chron. Abstract.

‡ Nothing gives a better insight into the sentiments and manners of a period than the reports of judicial proceedings and the examinations of witnesses. There is room to believe that the records of the commission for this inquiry, the petitions and depositions, as well as inventories of these unrighteous gains, must have been of a very curious description. If they have not been deliberately cancelled out of respect for the dignity of that office which it is so much the interest of all to revere and uphold; or if time and neglect have not placed them beyond reach of the antiquary, whenever their hiding-place may be explored, a mine of information will probably be opened, which will confirm the necessity of the measure then adopted to remove a most enormous oppression, as well as help us to understand the true condition of the time. We are recently indebted to a correspondent in the Gentleman's Magazine, March and Dec. 1852, for some interesting information on this subject, and he has promised more. Affairs must have been in a strange state on both sides when a judge could have the effrontery to tell a poor suitor, as Ralph de Hengham did, that "he would not stir out of his house at Westminster for a carucate of land."

§ So Carte, II. p. 206. Wikes only mentions them as elected to fill the places of the offenders. Gale, II. 121.

‖ Since the passage in Dors. p. 182 was written, the editor has seen reason to abandon the hope that Sir Giles de Berkeley there mentioned might have been among the very few judges "faithful found among the faithless." For this conviction he is indebted to

The commentary on the endorsement ventured to suggest one, but a better authority has caused it to be laid aside.

the learned author of "The Lives of the Judges," and thanks Mr. Foss for having shewn him, satisfactorily, that Sir Giles could only have been a man of some eminence in the country employed on a special commission with a regular justiciary in a matter of private reference not to be heard in Court; and that he was not a justiciary in the ordinary sense. This incident in our national history is a glaring exposure of the dangerous practice of giving and receiving presents, then in use between suitors and judges, and others officially connected with courts of judicature, which, in spite of the check thus given to it, was afterwards revived. Edward prince of Wales resorted to private applications for bespeaking favour, if he did not actually tender bribes. See his letters in vol. II. of Sussex Archæolog. Collections. Mr. Gunner, in his Extracts from the Bursars' Accounts of Winchester College, produces instances in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of an admiral of England, King's justices, and an Archbishop of Canterbury, accepting gifts to secure good offices; and he charitably hints that, when this was in vogue, it probably "did not much interfere with the course of justice." Archæolog. Journal, VIII. 82, 83. The hope that it may have been so is, however, not only balanced by the fear, but outweighed by the fact, of its having too often been otherwise. At any time the custom involved a snare. The laxity of moral tone on this head during the century in question infected the church at its topmost source, and persons of the highest rank and reputation adopted this mode of putting forward their suits in appeals to Rome, where the Cardinals and the Pope himself were notoriously accessible by money or the valuable equivalent of a horse or a jewel. The Pope, in the early part of the century, by his nuncio at Westminster, had unblushingly owned the scandal, but justified the custom of thus receiving presents by the poverty of the see; and proposed by way of bargain to discontinue it with respect to England, provided a certain amount of church patronage were put into his hands. Collier, Eccl. Hist. in a. 1226. Archbishop Peckham stooped to this practice of gratuities. Writing to his agents about a remittance for certain purposes, he uses very unmistakeable language. *Mittimus autem .ccc. marcas pro communi servitio domini papæ et cardinalium. Mittimus etiam .cc. marcas communicato consilio fratris Matthæi et magistri Johannis de Pontisar per vos taliter dividendas, ut videlicet assignarentur domino Benedicto .xxx. marcæ, dominis Matthæo Albanensi, J. de Sabello, Jordano Cardinali, cuilibet .xx. marcæ sub palefridi nomine vel jocalium.* Wilkins, Conc. Mag. Brit. et Hib. II. 78. But a private communication of Bishop Cantilupe to his proctors on a like occasion is still more explicit, and betrays a struggle between his sense of the supposed necessity of the act, a qualm about it, and a sort of feeling of honour as to the method of proceeding in it. It will be recollected that this eminent person had been sometime, though but for a little while, Chancellor of England; and is said to have been himself incapable of receiving, though here he is seen tendering what was all but, a bribe. When he made this offer, in the year 1281, he had several appeals pending in the Roman Court, and in one of these suits was cast in damages, after his decease, to a ruinous amount. The letter, of which the following is an extract, was

The energy of this active and intelligent King and his able advisers brought forward, in the parliaments of 1289, 1290, many remedial measures

strictly private and confidential, not intrusted to the pen of a secretary, as it seems, to make a duplicate, but written with his own hand; and yet by a strange simplicity it is entered among his records. The delicate term *visito*, which he employs, was used in the sense of making a present, (as in Ann. Eccl. Wigorn. Angl. Sacra, I. 476, *visitavit conventum de pitantia*,) and was of course well understood when applied to such negociations. The secresy and caution of the letter is remarkable. He alludes in the outset to a despatch that had already been sent, in which more liberal presents had been proposed. These, however, are now withdrawn, and an economical scheme is substituted. It shows very plainly that without fees of this kind all business would have been at a stand. ‖*Memorandum.*[a] ‖*Et memorandum quod ipsa vice dominus propria manu sua scripsit magistris W. Brun et Johanni de Buterleye quædam secreta quorum non habebantur transcripta.* ‖*Procuratoribus in curia Romana morantibus.*[b] ‖*Magistris W. Brun et Johanni de Buterleye salutem. Licet inter nos sermo exstiterit aliquis, et postmodum super eodem fuerit subsecuta relatio litteralis, scilicet de visitando omnes et singulos Cardinales; postmodum tamen deliberato consilio perpendimus quod hoc gravamina debitorum et episcopatus exilitas non permittunt: verum quia intelleximus imo scimus quod negotia in curia minime promoventur, nisi in generali vel speciali fuerint visitata; propterea ad nostra negotia expedienda per literas mercatorum Pistoriensium vobis mittimus centum libras sterlingorum, in sterlingis vel grossis denariis recipiendas. Cujus pecuniæ summa, etsi modica videatur, prodesse tamen poterit cautius distributa, quod judicio quorundam fieri poterit in hunc modum: videlicet, quod dominus Hugo, Anglicus Cardinalis, habeat .xxx. marcas; dominus Gerardus, Cardinalis, auditor noster .x. libras, et sua familia .v. marcas; dominus Matthæus Ruffus, Cardinalis .x. marcas; dominus Jord(anes ?) Cardinalis .x. marcas; Vicecancellarius .x. libras; Auditor contradictorum .x. marcas; B. de Napoli, et alius Notarius magis excellens et domino papæ magis specialis .xx. marcas pro equali portione; Cubicularius domini papæ .x. marcas; Hostiarius domini papæ .x.s. sterlingorum. Aliis videtur quod a summa Vicecancellario deputata possunt detrahi .v. marcæ, ita quod habeat .x. marcas tantum. A duobus Notariis et Cubicolario papæ possunt subtrahi .vij. marcæ et dimidium. Ita quod quilibet istorum habeat tantum .c. Et ita remanebunt de .c. libris .xxxiij. marcæ et dimidium. Aliis videtur quod bonum esset respicere qu[c] , . . cui est familiaris Archiepiscopus,[d] a quo appellatur, in .xl. vel .l. marcis, tot prius subtrahendo quot essent to . . . summæ pecuniæ recepturi. Nobis siquidem videtur, quod media via est magis proficua et honesta, dum tamen si necessitas urgeat, papa in aliquo respiciatur quod sibi placeat, a quo omnis gratia*

[a] Marginal. [b] Marginal.

[c] The dots express the decayed places at the edge of the parchment.

[d] Archbishop Peckham.

and wholesome statutes; while he himself was in secular concerns discharging in several parts of the country* the same duty as Bishop Swinfield in matters ecclesiastical throughout his diocese, visiting, seeing, and ascertaining for himself, what had passed and was occurring that demanded his attention. Yet Edward I. amidst all his public cares found time, as a son, for affectionate attendance on his mother, a nun at Amesbury in Wiltshire,† advanced in years and declining in health; and as a parent to provide for the marriage of his third and fourth daughters. Of the queen dowager, and Joan of Acre, the elder of these daughters, a slight mention is found in our record. After her marriage (April 30, 1290) with Gilbert de Clare, Joan

dinoscitur dependere. Hoc tamen quod de papa . . . nobis non est cordi, nisi in defectum illius facti causa nostra contra Assavensem et alia nostra negotia in periculo existerent mani(festo) . . . Quo(circa?) cautum bene vellemus, quod præfato domino .xl. vel .l. marcas vel marcatas in jocalibus presentetis.* Other directions are added in the same strain, concerning a different distribution to some of the cardinals, intermixed with able instructions for the government of his agents in managing the suits: but the passages quoted are ample evidence of the corrupt practices prevalent in the then highest court of ecclesiastical appeal in Christendom, and the debased moral tone that they engendered. A singular contrast arises out of the following resolution breaking forth among these passages, and worthy of a better association. *Nolumus subterfugia quærere turpia et suspecta, quibus po(ssimus ani)mum judicis commovere, vel talia quæ erga eundem redderent nos suspectos.* Reg. Cantil. f. 68a.

Robert of Gloucester (q. the historian?), the official of Bishop Swinfield, in his management of a controversy between that prelate and the monks of Leominster and Reading, took a higher stand. In his report he expresses a conviction that they would be glad to make it up by bribes, which he has rejected. *Libenter tamen dicti monachi facerent vobiscum pacem, dando vobis pecuniam, sed hoc non est ad honorem vestrum, quia dictum negotium coram regni majoribus extitit jam tractatum; mihi enim pro benevolentia mea habenda offerri fecerunt per Absolonem subvicecomitem Herefordensem in nundinis Leoministriæ decem marcas ad unum palefridum, quas admittere recusavi.* Reg. Swinf. f. 13a.

* The monkish annalist of Worcester, describing the parliament at Woodstock, gives a spirited sketch from the life of his ready dispatch of business, and the effective manner in which his presence was felt, and his power exercised, both among the clergy and laity. See Ann. Wigorn. ut supra, I. 511.

† Dors. ‖32, p. 149.

* Anianus, Bishop of Saint Asaph.

accompanied her husband on a visit to his manors. Hanley, with its castle, near the Severn, in the vale to the east of Malvern hill, was one of them; and it is not improbable that the costly present of bread, wine, and fish,* befitting such travellers, was prepared for her somewhere during that tour. The extraordinary revelry attendant upon the nuptials of Margaret, her younger sister, who espoused John of Brabant (July 8, 1290), was mournfully contrasted by the distress of the Jews, irrevocably doomed about this time in mass to quit the kingdom. The sufferings of that persecuted people excited no adequate sympathy; and therefore, like the delinquency of the judges, have been slenderly recorded. If this event originated in part from the resolution of the king to replenish his exchequer with their confiscated goods, it was mainly facilitated by the footing that the Italian merchants and money-lenders had gained here. We see how Swinfield had recourse to them in remittances to foreign parts, to Paris and Rome. In peace or war, from the equipment of an army to the sale of the wool of a convent, these bankers and usurers were the agents now universally employed. Thus were the Jews supplanted, whose avaricious conduct had increased the popular prejudice against them in proportion as their influence declined. While their assistance was necessary they were alternately detested and tolerated, tormented and caressed. High in favour with Henry III. during the early part of his reign, they increased in wealth and numbers both in Gloucester and Hereford. He even affected a personal regard for them. In a writ addressed to the Sheriff of Hereford † he freed them from the liability of being sued in spiritual courts; and in particular informed that officer that the Bishop had no business with his Jews.‡ He was not always equally

* Id. ‖39, c. p. 164. The Bishop was on his visitation during the whole of May, when they were on this bridal excursion. They afterwards retired for awhile to Tunbridge. Green, Lives of the Princesses, II. 331.

† 19 June, 2 Hen. III. Anglia Judaica. Tovey. 4°. Oxford, 1738. pp. 77, 78.

‡ *Eis firmam pacem nostram dedimus, non obstante aliqua prohibitione inde facta ab Episcopo Herefordensi, quia nihil ad eum pertinet de Judæis nostris.* Id. But the late Mr. T. Hudson Turner, in an able article on this subject in the Athenæum, Aug. 11, 1849, judiciously observes, that, according to the ancient law of England, the Jews and their possessions had always been at the absolute disposal of the sovereign. In expelling them he only exercised his recognised prerogative; for "it is undeniably true," he concludes, "however unpalatable the fact may be, that their legal estate, down to the

kind to them. His successor received them for a time under his protection; but they were not satisfied till they had forfeited it by clipping and counterfeiting the coin, for which they were severely mulcted.* In Hereford and elsewhere they were distinguished from the other inhabitants, pursuant to the statute *de Judaismo*, by a badge of yellow taffeta, six fingers long and three broad, upon their upper garment. Under certain restrictions they were permitted to trade and live by labour, and purchase houses and lands. Their commercial diligence and connexions could not but have been useful to the inhabitants of the places where they were settled; and that they had of late ingratiated themselves with their neighbours in Hereford, and shewed a disposition towards making converts, is proved by the zealous part that Swinfield took against them. Though he was not inclined to harsh measures in general, his horror of these people induced him to interfere with an unusual degree of indignation against the Christians who kept up an intercourse with them. One of the rich Jewish families in the city was about to give a splendid nuptial entertainment in August 1286, and had publicly invited their Christian acquaintances. Swinfield was at Bosbury when he heard of it; he immediately issued a stringent prohibition, through the chancellor of the diocese, against all who should presume to attend upon such detestable banquetings, and threatened them with the heaviest ecclesiastical censure. But there was apparently a plentiful board and a hearty welcome. There were displays of silk and cloth of gold, horsemanship or an equestrian procession, stage playing, sports and minstrelsy. Such temptations proved irresistible when opposed to the Bishop's mandate, and all who were present incurred sentence of excommunication.† In the same year, but subsequently ‡ as is indicated by comparison of dates, the Archbishop

period of their banishment by Edward I. was simply that of absolute slaves of the crown."

* All of them throughout the kingdom were seized on the same day and hour, Nov. 18, 1278, and thrown into prison. Part of them were hanged, with many Christians, their accomplices, in the year following. Annal. Wigorn. Angl. Sacra, I. 503. A curious Hebrew inscription was found in an old vault at Winchester, recording, that all the Jews in this nation were imprisoned in the year 5047, which answers to 1287 of the Christian era. Tovey, p. 150.

† Reg. Swinf. ff. 35 b, 36 a.

‡ Swinfield's documents are dated in September; the bull of Honorius in November;

of Canterbury, and his suffragans, received from the Pope a bull of reproof and instruction founded upon this familiar association of Christians with Jews, forbidding it, rebuking them for having neglected it, and commanding them to take effectual and earnest care that it may be remedied. But the most complete remedy was in the hands of the King; and on his return from abroad he set the question at rest by the summary confiscation of their property and the expulsion of the whole race. Proclamation was made that passports would be granted them on a certain day.* And accordingly with wives and children, and what they could collect of their moveables, they quitted the kingdom in a body estimated at between 15 and 16,000,† to seek new homes wherever in the wide world, among persecuting Christian, Mohammedan, or heathen nations, a refuge could be found. If, as is generally understood, this was entirely a compulsory emigration,‡ it must have been a woeful day when the existing generation of those ancient wanderers, unpitied too probably by those who exported them, bade the shores of England a long farewell. They embarked at the Cinque Ports; and seem to have gone on board at different periods between the close of July and All Saints day.§

As to the conduct of the people of Hereford in defying his prohibition with regard to the Jews, though the number of the refractory is not made known, it did but correspond with their general behaviour towards him in other instances. In secular affairs their principal burgesses were prone to set the example of resistance, and had cherished an aggressive disposition against their Bishop. It may be discerned for a long time prior to the

and it seems to have been occasioned by what had occurred at Hereford. It is in Raynaldus in a. 1286, No. 25, and in Rymer.

* Rymer, I. pt. 2, p. 736, dated July 27, 1290.

† Matthew of Westminster, Flores Hist. in anno, gives the computed number with some minuteness at 16, 511.

‡ The opinion of Sir Edward Coke that they were self-banished, because they were no longer allowed to lend upon usury, seems opposed to historical evidence, probability, and the character of the people, who were for the most part rich, and had settled themselves comfortably in the country. This is a point that wants to be cleared. Neither Madox nor Tovey give any satisfactory insight into it. Collier, B. 5, in anno.

§ All those of London took shipping on the morrow after St. Denys' day, Oct. 10. Red Book of the Exchequer. Tovey, 232.

episcopate of Swinfield. The Bishop in Hereford was possessed of more than mere ecclesiastical power. Nearly one half of the city, with a considerable portion of the suburbs, formed a district entitled the Bishop's fee; and his authority, on particular occasions, superseded that of the civil magistrate by extending over the whole.* Within his fee he administered justice, and committed offenders to the charge of his own officers, and to his own prison within the palace. His tenants were excused from customary burdens. At a yearly fair, held for nine days, his power to regulate transactions and to collect tolls was paramount, and the city keys were surrendered to his bailiffs for that time.† The civil authorities regarded these privileges with a jealous eye; clashings and heartburnings arose: they were on the watch to teaze him. There was hardly a right that they were not prepared at some time or other to dispute; and when in self-defence he was compelled to restrain them, their chiefs came in like children penitent upon correction, and promising never to be guilty of the like again—till another opportunity arose. In this temper they went on to the last year of his life.‡ Such a state of things was far from conciliatory. The roll does not testify to any close intercourse existing between these parties; for, whatever might have been the cause, Swinfield does not appear from any of his records to have been much among them, but to have rather frequented his country residences. This year they vexed his tenants. In the Hay of Hereford (Haywood), a forest that the burgesses rented of the king, existing now only in name, the swine of the citizens and of the Bishop's men were allowed to run for mast and acorns during the season of pannage. In the autumn of 1290 the latter were excluded by the burgesses; and Swinfield sent his high steward, Mortimer, to the court then at Rockingham to obtain legal redress.§ The truth lying at the

* Duncumb, Collections, I. 293.

† Thus the tolls of a fair held at Caen in Normandy, for several days before and after Trinity Sunday, belonged to the lady abbess, who sent her own officers to collect them; and during that time the military governor of the place was under her command. Green, Lives of the Princesses of England. I. 11.

‡ They began in 1285 to dispute his right to arrest and imprison offenders, and were forced to submit. Reg. Swinf. ff. 28 b, 29 a. The last attempt at encroachment in Swinfield's time occurred in 1316, f. 199 b.

§ Dors. ‖58.

root of these proceedings was this, that the feudal system was now on the wane, and the greater towns were every where struggling to shake off the domination of their ancient lords.

From these notices of events, by which the years 1289 and 1290 were rendered memorable, we may proceed perhaps with more advantage to the particulars which the Diary sets before us.

DIARY AND ITINERARY.

John de Kemeseye observes the custom of ecclesiastical accountants, bursars of monasteries, and others, by beginning his roll at Michaelmas. It is kept in the usual well-known style, the form of which has been more than once alluded to and partly described.* But an example or two here introduced in translation, at the risk of appearing tedious, may be of service to our illustrations. The first thing that meets the eye in the margin on the left hand, kept as a receptacle for little notes and remarks, is the place at which the family are passing the day or have arrived to rest during the night. The Bishop had previously been some time at Ledbury, and in that neighbourhood, and is now residing

At SUGWAS, from Sept. 30 to Oct. 21, inclusive.

It is on a Friday: the contents of Fridays, Saturdays, and Wednesdays, shew them throughout to be days of abstinence; and the items of articles bought and consumed in their meals of breakfast, dinner, and supper, or of such as remained on hand, with miscellanies of the household and expenses of the stable, all collected from the reports of servants in each department, are arranged in the following order.

‖Sugwas. ‖On Friday aforesaid, at Sugwas, for the consumption of my lord's household. Bread, already accounted for. Item, two sextaries of wine. Beer, already accounted for. Item, 200 herrings, 1 stick† of fresh eels, 3 sticks of salted eels, half a salmon, 4 cod, already accounted for.‡ In 300

* Pp. x. xl.

† The eels were stuck by the head upon a stick.

‡ "Laid out," is understood here.

herrings, 3*s.* 10*d.* In 300 lamperns, 2*s.* 6*d.* Item, 1 salmon, a present. Of these remain 200 and a half of herrings, half a salmon, 100 lamperns. In salt, 6*d.* Hay from the manor farm for 26 horses. In their feed, 7 quarters, 7 bushels of oats, already accounted for. 1 quarter of bran taken from the bakehouse and given to the horses. In working up 38 horse-shoes out of old iron, 16*d.* In 500 nails, 12*d.*

The sum, 9*s.* 2*d.**

By this it is shewn that on the day in question the only articles purchased were herrings and lamperns, all others having been previously accounted for. The bread or flour, wine, beer, and salt fish, were taken from stock in hand. The only actual disbursements, besides the fresh fish aforesaid, were for salt, the economical conversion of old iron into new horse-shoes, and for some nails. The hay, corn, and bran, were settled by tallies between the bailiff, the baker, and the house-steward; or, perhaps, in part by the head-steward at the usual times of reckoning. Three payments for hay are distinguishable in the course of October.†

Once more. The first flesh day falls on the ensuing Sunday, and exhibits a well stocked larder.

‖At the same place. ‖On the Lord's day next after the feast of St. Michael, at the same place. Bread. 3 sextaries of wine from the store. Beer, already accounted for. Item, 3 quarters of beef, half a porker, 1 sheep, already accounted for. In 2 carcasses of beef, 9*s.* 4*d.* In 10 carcasses of mutton, 10*s.* In 1 porker, 2*s.* In 25 geese, 5*s.* 2½*d.* In 40 fowls, 2*s.* 6*d.* In 24 pigeons, 8*d.* In larks, 1½*d.* Item, 4 geese, 8 fowls, presents. 9 partridges of our own taking. Out of these remain 2 carcasses of beef, 8 of mutton, 1 porker, 21 geese, 38 fowls, 12 pigeons. Hay from the manor farm for 29 horses. In their feed, 2 quarters of oats already accounted for.

The sum, 30*s.* 5¾*d.*‡

Thus the family dispatched this day at the board 3 quarters of beef, 3 sheep, half a pig, 8 geese, 10 fowls, 12 pigeons, and all the larks and partridges.

The above specimens sufficiently represent the method of this portion of the roll, occasionally diversified by details arising from circumstances, the seasons, and the varying incidents of life.

Sugwas, in the parish of Eaton (or Eton) Bishop, was one of the manors

* Roll, pp. 3, 4. † Id. Oct. 9, 11, 20. ‡ Roll, pp. 6, 7.

attached of old to the see. Its annual value, jointly with that of Eaton, as returned to the Commissioners of Taxation, was £24. 11*s.* 10*d.** This and Bishop's-Castle were the episcopal residences nearest to the great boundary dyke that Offa caused to be made to separate the Welsh territory from his Saxon dominions. The manor-house stood on the left bank of the Wye, overlooking that river, at a convenient distance of between four and five miles from Hereford. It is traditionary that this was a favourite residence of Cantilupe, and a chair that bore his arms and name was preserved in the chapel as long as it existed in the last century.† The usual manorial advantages and appendages were attached to this property. Here was a mill, a dove-cote, a fishery, floodgate, and passage over the Wye. Customary tenants paid a rent in eels, and the river produced excellent salmon. A statute had been passed in 1285 prohibiting all persons from taking this fish in all waters throughout the kingdom, between the 8th of September and 11th of November;‡ but, if in force, we detect it to have been twice transgressed, once certainly at the wear of Sugwas, in the intervening fence-month of October.§ Here was a park with timber;‖ but no mention is now made of its being stocked with deer. The huntsman and falconer were out in pursuit of game; and it has been seen that partridges were brought to table; but as yet no venison. The Bishop seldom appeared in public during his short stay, if we may conclude from the few entries of almsgiving, the sure indication of his being seen abroad. Upon one of the days so designated he went to Hereford on public duty. In this slender attempt to collect a few materials towards the diocesan memoranda of a limited period, such notice will be taken of ecclesiastical intelligence as will shew his engagement in the affairs of the see. On Sunday the 9th of October he met the dean and chapter in the chapter-house assembled, where jointly with them he confirmed a former appropriation of the church of St. Michael of Chirbury, in Salop, to Adam the prior and the canons Augustinian of that place. On the 20th, the day before his departure from Sugwas, he conferred the arch-

* Tax. P. Nich. p. 168.

† MSS. Collections for Herefordshire. Blount. Hill.

‡ Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, i. p. 441. § Roll, Oct. 14, 28.

‖ Reg. Cantil. f. 24 b. This continued till the reign of Elizabeth, when the premises were leased, and much of it seems to have been destroyed. But "sufficient fewel of the said grosse Tymbre" was reserved to be spent at the palace of Hereford during the time of the then Bishop's abode. Butterfield MS. f. 178 b.

deaconry of Salop, with a house in Hereford attached to it, void by the resignation of John de Benstan, or Bestan, on his own nephew, John de Swinfield,* who afterwards obtained a licence to study abroad. †

Having remained three weeks at this manor he removes to Bosbury. Preparations are set on foot. Whitewashing and some repairs are attended to. Rushes are cut for strewing the floors, and brushwood for culinary purposes, and wood for charcoal is felled and burnt in Storidge, a woodland attached to Bosbury manor. ‡ The baker, the usual harbinger, goes forward, § that the pantry may not be without bread on the arrival of my lord, and the household are established

At Bosbury from October 21 to December 17 inclusive.

Seated in a deep but fertile country, about 4½ miles to the north-west of Ledbury, this manor seems, from the use that was made of it, to have had its attractions and peculiar advantages, and to have been much resorted to by the occupants of the see: ‖ at least Swinfield frequently visited it; and there indeed he appears to have breathed his last. He may be presumed to have been personally attached to the place where his father's remains had been laid. Five hundred years had almost passed away when, in 1776, the memorial of this fact was found. A monumental stone, containing a name and date to that effect, was discovered in the church, inverted and half concealed behind a pillar in the wall of the southern aisle of the nave. The inscription was at that time legible, though now very imperfect, and ran thus:

+: HIC: IACET: STE
PHANUS: QUONDAM: PA
TER: VENERABILIS: PA
TRIS: D'NI: RICARDI:
DE: SUINEFEUD: DEI:
GRACIA: EPI: HERE
FORDENSIS: A: D: MCCLXXXII:¶

* Reg. Swinf. ff. 63 a, b, 68 b. † App. VI.

‡ These statements are brought in at the end of the Bosbury account, Dec. 16.

§ Roll, Oct. 21.

‖ Bosbury lays claim to high antiquity. Silas Taylor asserts that a market was formerly held there. MSS. Harl. 6726, f. 166 b. And the inhabitants quote with some exultation an old saying, that "Bosbury was a town ere Hereford was a city."

¶ These particulars and the inscription are given on the authority of a letter from Mr. Reece, the discoverer, to Mr. Clarke, the secretary of Lord James Beauclerk,

Vestiges upon the site of the manor-house, to the north of the church, indicate extensive and strong buildings. Tradition has assigned an episcopal prison to this spot; but it is more certain that there were cells of confinement for clerical offenders at Hereford and Ross. The gateway and dove-cote, the latter curious in structure, and similar in contrivance to that of the hospitallers at Garway, still remain.* The contents of this dove-cote were resorted to and paid for on several successive days.† Bosbury must have had good cellaring and a larder well suited to the preservation of stores; for there a great part of the wine was kept, and most of the provision of animal food now collected was salted and laid up for future consumption. The quantity was not small. This was the Martinmas season for slaughtering and curing: it began a little before their arrival, and was carried on with great industry. Cattle, sheep, and swine were sent in from various quarters; fifty-two beeves purchased for the occasion or drawn from the different farms, from Sugwas, Tupsley, Ledbury, Colwall, and so far as from Earley in Berkshire.‡ The sheep are in less proportion; but to twelve pigs from Prestbury, Robert Crul (Kyrle), a bailiff, who will hereafter claim our notice, added ten from Ross.§ The slaughtermen were paid two shillings and sixpence for their work, and the management of the tripes (*præparatio exituum*), or such other portions of the inwards or offal as were placed in pickle, cost a like sum.‖ Salt was had at Worcester.¶ But this was not the whole. Many carcasses of deer were brought in from the chase, as well as from the parks of Colwall, Eastnor, and Dingwood; and that of

Bishop of Hereford, in which he requests permission to remove the stone to the chancel, where probably it had first been placed. MSS. Collect. for Herefordsh. The commendable care of the present incumbent, the Rev. J. H. Underwood, has done what could be done to protect and preserve it, by fixing it in the southern wall, near the Morton chapel: but it appears in the last stage of decay.

* Roll, p. 71 b. † Id. Oct. 23, 24, 25.

‡ Oct. 23, Nov. 15, 17, Dec. 1. § Nov. 15.

‖ Roll, Dec. 1. They used malt liquor in preserving these materials. When the Dowager Countess of Pembroke made up her larder at Goodrich castle against Christmas, on the Tuesday after the feast of Saint Hilary, 25 Ed. I. the *exitus* of thirty-three oxen and eighty pigs were put into 104 gallons of ale bought for the purpose. Roll, Chapter House, Westminster.

¶ Nov. 23.

Prestbury contributed a share.* The Roll, brief as are its statements, shews this to have been a busy and animating time, and all hands, while it lasted, appear to have found full employment. The picture in the original is vivid, though the outline is hard and the manner dry. Harpin is usually from home, and catches abundance of partridges. As he is a falconer, and is provided with additional twine for his nets,† he seems to have taken these coveys by the old mode of fluttering his hawk aloft, and causing them to lie close, while the net was drawn over them. Adam, the stud-groom, with the huntsmen, helpers and hounds, is often abroad in the chase and parks, and boys are hired to rouse or drive the deer by shouting.‡ Thanks to Bishop Cantilupe, they had a noble range of country to beat over.§ The

* Roll, Nov. 15. † Nov. 1. ‡ Nov. 2, 13, 15, 16.

§ The boundaries of the chase, in its length and breadth, long since forgotten, though some of the names of places still survive, were thus determined by the jury in Cantilupe's time. *Memorandum quod die Martis post dominicam in passione domini anno gratiæ M°. cc°. lxxvij°. transiebat ultima inquisitio de Chacea Malverniæ apud Brisenyate pro domino Thoma Herefordensi Episcopo contra Gilbertum de Clare tunc comitem Gloucestriæ, coram Radulpho de Hengham, Waltero de Helyon et piciis* (q. *pacis* vel *pluribus ?*) *justiciariis domini Regis.* ‖*Chacea domini Episcopi Herefordensis de Malvern extendit se in latitudine in parte superiori per comam montis ibidem a Prommeswalle usque ad le Dedeorle, et de le Dedeorle ad illum finem in latitudine directa usque ad Cheuernissh pole; et de Cheuernissh pole in inferiori parte jacet in longitudine de Estenore, et de Estenore usque Ruggewey, et de Ruggewey usque Ffroglone, et de Ffroglone usque ad Bertonesyate, et de Bertonesyate usque ad le Brodeleye tenendo semper altam viam regalem usque ad Prommeswell.* Registr. Joan. Trefnant. Ep. Heref. ff. 131 b, 132 a. Another later and more particular version of these limits is given by Swithin Butterfield, in his survey taken in 1577 and 1578. MS. f. 103 b. *Malverne Chace. Perambulatio Chaciæ Malverniæ pertinentis ad Episcopatum Herefordensem: viz. Inprimis, incipiendum apud Primeswell, ascendendo ad comam montis, et sic usque Baldeyate, et de Baldeyate per fossatum usque Brustenyate, et de Brustenyate usque Swyneyate, et de Swyneyate usque Shakellyate, et de Shakellyate usque Dead orle, et de Dead orle usque Chaylemersh poole, et de Chaylemersh poole usque Clengfores myll, et deinde ad ecclesiam de Estnor, et de ecclesia de Estnor per Ruggeweye usque Ffroglone, et de Ffroglone usque portam de Barton, usque Brodeley, et sic iterato usque Primeswell.* The claim of Gilbert de Clare stood thus: it has often been mentioned in general, but the limits of it are here defined: *Gilbertus de Clare comes Gloucestriæ usurpavit et attraxit sibi et forestæ suæ de Malvernia liberam chaciam domini Episcopi Herefordensis, viz. a summitate montis Malverniæ usque ad*

does were now in *fermeson*, or season: most of them were consigned to the larder, but some were brought to the board; though they seem to have been consuming their old stock *(vetus instaurum)* to make way for the new. Where there was such abundance of beef and venison it was but gracious in the Bishop to think of those to whom he would shew a kindness; and, accordingly, Reginald de Bocland, Richard de la Batayl, and the nameless vicar of Bishop's Frome, receive presents from him. The destruction of so many head of animals produced a large proportion of hides and fat, and we are in part informed how these were disposed of in their domestic economy, in which nothing seems to have been neglected. Some of the hides were sold, and others converted into leather for home consumption; and the tallow was immediately converted into candles.*

The evenings and mornings were becoming darker as the winter advanced, and their household affairs required some of them at least to be up later and earlier than the sun went down and rose. † The quantity of candles bought

molendinum vocatum Glenchemille, et ex altera parte usque ad Bradley et Collewall; quæ quidem chacea pertinebat ad manerium de Ledebury. Reg. Trefnant, ut supra. One John Deynte, a descendant probably of that family to which Swinfield's squire belonged, made a fruitless attempt to establish a right of hunting in the chase in Bishop Trefnant's time. The Bishop proved that it was given to the see by Mereduth, one of the old princes of Wales. Ibid.

* Roll, Nov. 1, 17, 27. Dors. p. 181.

† The cook had a lantern in his kitchen window at Goodrich Castle. Pembroke Roll, ut supra, 25 Ed. I. That servants were allowed the use of candles might be admitted from the necessity of the case, but is established by the exception that the writer of Fleta makes as to those who drove and had the care of oxen. They were wisely forbidden to have them among the straw of their stalls. Apparently diverting himself with his own legal phraseology, then as now in use among the profession, he strongly reprobates the practice, which, "*as the saying is, is not to be borne.*" Part of his summary of the requisites in this class of farm servants in that age is expressed with such a charming simplicity of feeling, and is altogether so graphic, that in the editor's humble estimation it merits to be recalled from its obscurity. p. 166. ‖*De fugatoribus carucarum*, c. 78. ‖1. *Fugatorum ars est, ut boves æque sciant conjunctos fugare, ipsos non percutiendo, pungendo, seu gravando.* ‖2. *Non enim esse debent melancholici, vel iracundi, sed gavisi, cantantes et lætabundi, ut per melodias et cantica boves in suis laboribus quodammodo delectentur; ipsisque foragium et præbendam deferre, ipsosque debent amare, et noctanter cubitare cum eisdem, ipsosque prurire, striliare, torcare, bene in omnibus custodire, &c. nec quod candelam habeant, prout dictum est, sustineatur.* No

on October 28 would not have carried them far through the gloomy days without a fresh supply. When the great slaughter was over, a chandler *(factor)* was sent for, who made eighty pounds *(de sebo hospitii)*; his charge for this was 2*s.* 3*d.*, and for his journey 2½*d.* The bringing of a drove of cattle from Sugwas to Bosbury cost 4*d.*, equivalent to about five shillings of our modern money.*

In the midst of this abundance and good cheer, certain members of the family, doubtless those who were in higher orders, observed a stricter regimen, and are called by eminence "the fasters." For they kept the Ember days by adding Monday in many weeks to the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, thus passing more than half their time under this discipline during the months of November and December. The express provision of fish *(pro jejunantibus)* † marks the days.‡

Wine, as an article of daily consumption, required a stated renewal; and it seems to have come round, as to foreign wine, once in about six months. The roll exhibits this in December and July. Two of the squires, Raulin, or Ralph de Marines, and John de Baseville, were entrusted with this commission. They went to Bristol, the most convenient mart, bought five tonells of red wine in the merchant's cellar, paid ready money for it, £10. 17*s.* 3*d.*, shipped and paid freightage for it, saw it delivered into boats that plied upon the Severn from that city to Upton; and placed the casks under the care of servants, who were furnished with mats to keep off rain or frost, and who might have been as a watch against the roguery of boatmen on the passage.§ A part of it was landed at the Haw, a wharf

one could have written this passage but he that knew the temper and management of the harnessed ox. Not the slightest intimation is given in the roll of the teams, for which Herefordshire has since been so famous.

* Roll, Nov. 17.

† A similar notice is found in the Countess of Pembroke's roll on Tuesday before the feast of St. Martin, 25 Ed. I.

‡ Nov. 14, 21, 28. Dec. 5, 13, 19.

§ Roll, Dec. 3. In the same way the Countess of Pembroke had a pipe of wine for her private use from Bristol up the Wye to Monmouth, and sent an attendant to take care of it. She also bought salted venison at Bristol, and had it by the same conveyance. Roll, ut supra. When Henry III. in 1223, was marching into Wales, he ordered 20 casks that his constable at Bristol had bought of Ernaldus de Mas, a merchant, to be forwarded after him to his army at Montgomery, about the feast of Saint Matthew

between Gloucester and Tewkesbury,* and was sent to Prestbury; the remainder seems to have been delivered at Upton, and conveyed to Bosbury by land carriage. Many allusions leave little doubt that the Bosbury vaults were at all times its main depository. From these Ledbury, Whitborne, and Sugwas received their needful supplies, and all the way through is to be traced the stock of Bosbury wine.† The squires took the opportunity of the fish-market at Bristol to lay in a quantity of conger eels, which were also sent by water carriage, and forwarded to Prestbury. Every thing upon the establishment was well cared and provided for at Bosbury. The horses fared well, being, besides their corn, provided with old hay made in the good season of 1288 from the Upper Rompeney meadow near Bromyard;‡ and the hounds had their repeated allowances of meal; but, though kept in constant exercise, were so blooded with the frequent chase that they appear to have grown mischievous; and a little anecdote of their wantonness incidentally comes out in their having attacked and killed a pig for J. Long, of Bosbury, for which the Bishop paid lawful damages. §

This manor, with its appurtenances, was valued in the Taxation at £25. 14*s.* 4*d.*; and the Bishop had the great tithes, amounting to £20 more, which he collected at the end of autumn either in this or the following year.‖ The vicarage was also in his gift. Four institutions to livings

the Apostle. These casks were brought to Monmouth, and thence sent on with all dispatch by land to Hereford, and deposited till further orders in some building fit for their reception in Hereford Castle; they were forwarded by the Sheriff of Hereford to Shrewsbury early in October; and must have been well shaken by the time they arrived at their journey's end. Rot. Litt. Claus. 7 Hen. III.

* It belonged to the priory of Deerhurst. Atkyns.

† Roll, Dec. 17, Feb. 23, *de instauro Bosebur'*, Apr. 1, et seq. June 2, July 11.

‡ Oct. 9. Side note, p. 7.

§ Dec. 16. Some of the king's hounds were guilty of the same kind of misdemeanour about this time, 18 Ed. I. Thomelin de Corbet, one of his falconers, went out with some companions towards Burford, and elsewhere, in the marches, to train a girfalcon to fly at cranes, taking with them sundry *leporarii* and *braconarii*. The *leporarii* contrived to kill three sheep by the road, and nine pence per head damages for them were charged to his majesty in his wardrobe accounts. ***Pro restauro trium bidentium quos leporarii regis occiderunt in dicto itinere***, 2*s.* 3*d.* Rymer, Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 4734, f. 253. And thus neither Bishop nor King were above the law.

‖ Dors. ‖ 46 a.

occurred while he was at this place. Oct. 24, William de Kingescote was instituted to the rectory of Westbury, presented to it by Sir Nicholas de Bathon' (Bath) knight.* Osbert, called Godman (Goodman?), a priest, was admitted, Oct. 25, to the vicarage of Eton in the vale of Longfield, on the presentation of the prior and convent of Wenlock;† and Sir Richard de Bury, an acolyte, to the church of Hope Bowdlers, Dec. 6, presented by Lady Millicent de Montalt, upon an injunction, as he was in minor orders, that, according to the constitution of the Council of Lyons in that case provided, he should offer himself for subdeacon at the next (or immediately ensuing) ordination at Ledbury.‡ This stipulation arose from an abuse that had crept in of introducing youths into benefices before they had gone through their course of studies, or were duly qualified to perform the services of the church. When that point had been gained many of them neglected to prepare themselves for ordination, though they received the profit of their benefices, which were served by substitutes. To the above must be added the admission of Sir John de Lych', or Lyth', a chaplain,§ Dec. 14, to the rectory of the church de Lega (the Lea?), on the presentation of Sir Richard de Lega.‖ It is evident that, though many ceremonies were occasionally performed by proxy, such acts as these required a personal appearance before the ordinary; and, as he so frequently shifted from place to place, the parties were required to attend upon him wherever he was to be found.

Unsuccessful inquiries were made at Gloucester and Hereford for a horse for my lord; many of his horses were sick and attended by a farrier;¶ he was soon to take a long journey. If our remark concerning almsgiving be correct, he kept close at home during his residence at Bosbury, as no entry of the kind is inserted while he remained there. One of his nephews, Walter de Scorene, visited and received a present from him in the month

* Reg. Swinf. f. 63 a. This Kingescote was he concerning whom the visitor and masters of Oxford university had disputed; and it is stated in the entry of his institution that he was at that time vice-chancellor; though another was afterwards appointed. See ante, p. lxix. and Dors. p. 150.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 63 a.

‡ Id. f. 63 b. See the citation to the Bishop's first ordination in App. xxi.

§ *Capellanus*, a curate, according to Fleetwood. Chron. Prec. p. 132.

‖ Reg. Swinf. ut supra. ¶ Dors. ‖ 24.

of October.* He shewed himself kind and generous to all his connexions by marriage or blood.

Several of his confidential dependents were absent. Thomas de la Dane,† the rector of Hampton Bishop, in particular, who seems to have gone on a mission to Exeter,‡ was also after Michaelmas in London, whither he accompanied John de Swinfield, the archdeacon of Salop, who was sent to complete his education in France. De la Dane's incessant movements and cares for his master's business allowed him little rest. The Bishop had some land and farming concerns at Womenswould, in Kent, where wheat and barley were sown, an orchard was planted, a house was building or under repair, and a chapel was in progress, erected at his cost.§ De la Dane superintended and paid for these works, which went on through the winter and during great part of the year. By him certain Christmas or New Year's gifts of clothing were distributed among the females of the Sceluing family, probably relatives of the Swinfields, as well as among other persons in that county, in which the Bishop himself is reputed to have been born. Before and after the festival of All Saints he and divers messengers passing through Oxford visited and conveyed money to the young Kingessuods, whom Swinfield patronized, and had placed for their education at the schools of that university, where Gilbert de Swinfield, a third of his nephews, Chancellor of Hereford, was in residence. Oxford was just recovering from a state of confusion into which it had been thrown by a dispute between the masters and their visitor the Bishop of Lincoln, already mentioned.‖ Their scholastic exercises were restored. On Dec. 1 Robert

* Dors. ‖ 31.

† The Editor here avails himself of an opportunity to acknowledge the kindness of the Rev. Lambert B. Larking, who from his extensive and accurate information respecting the families of Kent has corrected the suggestions in p. 122 of the Endorsement respecting Dane, Dene, and Oxdene; and has shewn, by extracts from the pedigree of Oxenden of Dene in Wingham, that these were connected by marriage with the Denes of Dene, and that the latter also intermarried with the Shelvings of Shelving in Barham. The evidences of these facts are not of a nature to find a place in this note; but they in some measure account for the introduction of these names among those who received favours from the Bishop; and, could some additional and direct proof be obtained of his family having been linked with them, it would help us to understand his liberality towards them.

‡ Dors. ‖ 22. § Id. ‖ 10, 11. ‖ P. lxix.

de Bromyard, a friar, proceeded for his degree, and Swinfield sent him by De la Dane twenty shillings towards his charges.* The wanderings, services, and expenses, of this indefatigable character occupy a conspicuous place in the Endorsement, to which we must refer the reader, reminding him that most of the occurrences above cited are referable to the winter of 1289.

The last day of their stay at Bosbury, besides the ordinary detail of provisions, shews a summing up of miscellanies, things done and paid for, and chiefly embodied in our narrative: the morrow presents a removal to

LEDBURY, from Dec. 17 to 20 inclusive.

Of the several towns with which the Bishop was connected by residences, that of Ledbury, if his resort thither be taken as a symptom of it, was the one he most affected. As a manor it was the best he had in hand. It was rated at £46. 7*s.* 4*d.*† It stood attached to a cluster of contiguous manors; Eastnor, Colwall and Coddington, Bosbury, and Cradley, were all the property of the see. As a town its inhabitants were, perhaps, less intrusive on his rights: from Ross and Hereford he had met with annoyance.‡ But the dates of his roll and his register seem to mark his preference of a country life. Here in its spacious and venerable church he had held his first ordination.§ The rectory of Ledbury, in the deanery of Frome,¶ was of old divided

* Dors. ‖ 31. † Tax. P. Nichol. f. 168.

‡ Once only he appears for four days at Ross. This might be accidental; but some of the townsmen were litigious with him. Men and horses are often sent from Bosbury to Hereford, but it seems as though the Bishop had no household or furnished stabling there, for the expenses both of man and horse are placed upon the accounts; and when he went to Hereford himself, on Palm Sunday, he did not dine at the palace, and brought hay with him from Sugwas. Mar. 26.

§ It was the custom of the bishops to hold ordinations in the different large churches of the diocese at their discretion: that of Ledbury was well adapted to the purpose. The candidates were often very numerous. Cantilupe held a crowded ordination in the capacious old church of Leominster, on the Saturday next before the feast of Saint Matthew the Apostle, in the year 1277. There were present who received the order of subdeacon 35, of deacon 37, of priest 27, besides 12 rectors ordained on that day. A list is added of nearly 100 rectors besides; who, as it seems, had been cited, but failed to make their appearance. Reg. Cantil. ff. 41 b, 42 a. This is a proof how many persons in those times had been admitted to hold benefices before they had attained the rank of priest. It was one point of abuse that Cantilupe laboured to reform.

¶ Tax. P. Nichol. f. 160 b.

into portions or prebends. The dean of Hereford and Master William de Montfort, dean of St. Paul's, London,* were the existing portionists; but the Bishop could claim the great tithes whenever a vacancy occurred.† On the day of his arrival he was met by Roger de Kingeslone, a deacon, whom he instituted to the vicarage of Presteign, on the presentation of the abbat and convent of Wigmore.‡ Swinfield would often bestow gifts upon clerks and poor scholars, and did so to one of the latter class in Ledbury on the Thursday while he was there.§ The present halt was but for three days and nights. Christmas was nigh at hand, and was to be kept at Prestbury, in Gloucestershire. From Bosbury two carts had been sent with a cask of wine and baggage *(hernesio)*, and more wine had been brought from the Haw. Robert Calewe, a servant, had been ordered to Prestbury; and on Dec. 17 we read that he had been and returned. He was out nineteen days, and superintended the burning of charcoal, and a great brewing against the festive season. At Sugwas and Bosbury beer had been bought; at Prestbury they were to have some of their own making; it would be fit to drink by the time they arrived, for they did not allow it long to ripen. Calewe was assisted by hired female brewers. The malt was a mixture of wheat, barley, and oats, intended doubtless to be particularly good. These brewers received an allowance out of the grains besides their pay. They wrought by candle light. These and other preliminary proceedings were defrayed by the bailiff,‖ and were of course accounted for in his reckoning with the steward. After his culinary campaign at Bosbury, William the head cook and market man fell sick and was left behind at Ledbury many weeks, till my lord's return. The hounds were taken on to Prestbury, as their work was not yet done. Those who have seen in times past the country that was here to be crossed will have no difficulty in comprehending the attention that they paid to farriery.¶ It seems plain from their practice that they were acquainted with the farrier's secret, that shoes made out of old iron are tougher than those made out of new.**

* Taxatio P. Nichol. p. 160 b.
† Tanner. Reg. Cantil. f. 20 b.
‡ Reg. Swinf. f. 63 b.
§ Roll, 31, 33, 35.
‖ Observe the frequent *per præpositum*. Roll, Dec. 25, et seq.
¶ Dec. 19.
** Sept. 30, Dec. 3.

On Dec. 20 the Bishop and his attendants moved forward to NEWENT, a town within the border of Gloucestershire. It was in the diocese of Hereford and deanery of the forest of Dean; but the Bishop had no property here. Among the unrighteous acts of king John was the injurious afforesting of the manor, with many besides, and adding them to the forest of Dean.* It belonged to the prior and convent of this place, a Benedictine house and cell to the abbey of Cormeilles, in Normandy.† The prior, Simon de Goupillers,‡ supplied the travellers gratuitously with hay, and litter, and brushwood, for the night, and his servants in return had a present of drink. It was remembered that, while they were at Bosbury, half a seam § of salt had been borrowed of their neighbour, the preceptor or manager of the Templars at Upleden, and it was bought to repay him. That military religious fraternity had a house and manor so called from its situation on the river Leden, in Bosbury parish. It was a manor therefore within a manor, and one of the several thousands that they were reported to possess in Christendom, soon to fall into the hands of others. The reputation of the wealth of the order was in part the cause of their ruin, as the possession of it had been of their decay. Little did the brethren in that retired spot

* Exempl. MS. Perambul. Forestæ de Dene, 28 Ed. I. † Tanner.

‡ The name of this prior is very frequently repeated in the register of the house. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 15. 668. His style and title ran thus: *Frater Symon de Goupilliariis, prior, custos seu ballivus de Newent, ac procurator Abbatis et conventus de Cormeliis, Lexoviensis diocesis, in Anglia generalis.* He had a dispute with John de Sceluing, rector of Ross, respecting some tithes in that parish about this time. But they came to an amicable agreement before the Bishop in his hall at Colwall. July 30, 1290. Reg. Swinf. f. 65 b.

§ The horse-load, seam, or sum of 100 pounds, by which so many saleable articles were measured or weighed, was a rude contrivance suited to miserable roads, over which no wheels could make a way, and has been always adopted in mountainous districts. Within fifty years, in the recollection of the editor, great part of the coal that came out of the forest of Dean to the town of Ross, was brought in this way down the rugged sides of that elevated land, on mules and asses, or small horses. But the wealth and traffic of this island have effected nowhere greater changes in its roads than in the British trackways of this intricate region. Sumpters have disappeared before increased facilities of conveyance, and are now chiefly employed in the counties of Hereford and Monmouth in bringing charcoal to the iron works from the woods of the interior of the country.

think of the cruel fate that awaited them. In 1308 every knight throughout the kingdom was arrested, on the morning of Jan. 10.* The brotherhood were subsequently dispersed and degraded, many of them persecuted to death, and all of them stripped of their lands and treasures.†

* Among those that were sent to the Tower of London were, *Frater Thomas de Tholouse, miles, preceptor apud Huppeleden*, and *Frater Thomas le Chamberleyn frater apud Huppeleden, per 5 annos.* Wilkins, Concilia Magn. Brit. II. 346.

† They had two preceptories in Herefordshire, Upleden and Garway. The preceptor who dwelt here with a brother or two, according to the size and revenues of the estate, was governor of the house and receiver of the rents. In this country place they lived formally by their rules; and, though their numbers must have been small, a table was kept for the squires, and they had a chapel and officiating priest of their own. Among the many corrodies and annuities bestowed on their dependants about this time, the following relate to this establishment. Guydo de Foresta, grand master, with the consent of his chapter at Dynnislee, Dec. 1292, granted to Richard de la Felde, chaplain, for his service, a perpetual maintenance at the table of the squires, in the house of the Temple at Upleden, for his life, on condition of his discharging the office of a priest as long as he was able, and an annual salary of twenty shillings from the preceptor for wages; and when incapacitated by age or weakness from officiating, he was to have the same advantages as any one of the brethren. Documents Illustrative of English History in the 13th and 14th Cent. London. 1844. p. 154. At a chapter held under the same grand master, at the same place, and on the same day, in 1294, a grant was made to Walter Childe of a yearly stipend of twenty shillings for his life, to be received from the said preceptor at Michaelmas and Easter, and a cast-off supertunic of the preceptor or a brother of the place at Christmas. Id. p. 75. William de la More, the last grand master in England, in the same manner, in 1300, granted to John, parson, of Garway, for his service during life, perpetual maintenance at Upleden, at the squire's table, a dress and five shillings annually as long as he should be able to serve; and after superannuation to have his victuals somewhere in the court (*in aliquo loco cur'*), and only five shillings per annum. Id. p. 155. But, while the knights themselves had an officiating chaplain, and enjoyed peculiar privilege as a society in exemption from episcopal visitations and censures, their tenants were not excused from parochial dues. An instance of this occurred at Upleden in 1303, which exemplifies somewhat minutely the nature of the claim called a mortuary. Joan wife of William de la M'se, their customary farmer, having deceased, William de Malvernia, vicar of Bosbury, previous to her interment, claimed as a mortuary the second best animal upon the farm, according to the custom of this parish and the whole diocese of Hereford. M'se at first resisted it, alleging that only the third best was due, as he had but six cattle in all; and that he would obey no order but that of the preceptor of the house. The Bishop (Swinfield) therefore wrote to the Grand Master and brethren assembled in provincial chapter, to

From Newent, on the 21st, they passed on to HIGHNAM, on the western side of the Severn, at no great distance from Gloucester. Though a Tuesday, for some inexplicable reason, it was a day of abstinence, and fish was procured from Gloucester market.

The abbat of Gloucester was lord of this manor.* John de Gamage, or Gamages, who had held that post ever since the year 1284, is a great favourite with the chronicler of that house. He was descended from an honourable family that came in with the Conqueror, and were established in Herefordshire, where in Mansel Gamage their name exists to the present hour. His government of the convent was distinguished by piety, charity and discretion in the management of their temporal affairs. He found them distressed and left them affluent. He liquidated their debt of a thousand marks, increased their revenues and the stock upon their estates, and raised

command their customary to desist from his wrongful opposition, and render to the church her due. Accordingly they appointed the brethren, William de la Forde, preceptor of Balsall, and John de Coningestone, preceptor of Guiting, with brother Hugh de Tadcaster, preceptor of Upleden, to treat and determine with the Bishop concerning it. These after diligent inquiry into all the circumstances came to Swinfield at Bosbury and affirmed that their order had nothing to do with the matter; but that it was the personal concern of William, a parishioner of the church of Bosbury; and therefore for themselves and the brethren they threw it entirely upon the conscience of the Bishop to decide, who, having called a number of discreet persons to his assistance, gave sentence in the parish church of Bosbury, according to law and custom, in the presence of Hugh the preceptor and many others, that on the death of a woman during the life of her husband, he ought to give the second best animal in his stock to God and Holy church. Pursuant to this decree William de la M'se aforesaid drew out the best of his oxen for his own use, and gave the second best to William the vicar, for his deceased wife; by reason that his only horse was hardly worth six shillings sterling; whereas the first ox was worth by common estimation eight, and the next seven shillings sterling. Reg. Swinf. f. 144 b. The many disputes that arose between the clergy and their parishioners on this point gave rise to that constitution of Archbishop Winchelsey, which settled it precisely in the above mode. He died in 1313. The title of it is, *Si decedens tria aut plura reliquerit animalia, et optimum alteri sit debitum; sit proximi valoris ipsius ecclesiæ.* Provinc. Gul. Lyndwood, p. 184 a. Both the Templars and their successors the Hospitallers had a sanctuary here as well as at their other houses, and instances might have been given of criminals having fled to them for refuge, in particular to Upleden. But this discursive note has already exceeded its limits.

* Atkyns, p. 176.

their sheep alone to a flock of ten thousand. In every way he seems to have discharged the duties of a faithful governor and steward, and to have exercised his authority with the feelings and conduct of a gentleman. His personal appearance was answerable to his birth and noble qualities, and procured him respect and honour. In 1291, at the funeral of the Queen-dowager at Amesbury, where a multitude of the dignitaries of the church were assembled, the meek expression of his ruddy countenance set off by his snowy hair attracted the notice of Edward I. and drew from him this commendation: "There is not a prelate in my kingdom that appears to me so venerable as the Abbat of Gloucester." *

As previous to his elevation he had been prior of St. Guthlac in Hereford, at the beginning of Swinfield's episcopate, they could not have been strangers to each other, and indeed appear to have been on the best terms. He presented the Bishop with two palfreys, the first of them being returned.† On the day of their sojourn at Highnam he gave him hay and oats for his forty horses. They trespassed on his hospitality no further. The farm servants had their customary reward of drink. The Severn is divided into two channels before it reaches Gloucester, and both must be traversed by the road on which they were travelling. It is beyond all question that then, as now, there must have been two bridges to cross before they could enter the Westgate of the city.‡ We read of no passage by ferry as in other cases. Through Gloucester was their only way to arrive, and settle themselves, as we observe they did, at

PRESTBURY, from Dec. 22 to 28 inclusive.

The name of this parish announces who were the chief owners of the lands when first it acquired that appellation,§ and the manor now belonged to

* Chron. of Glouc. Abbey under John de Gamages. *Cujus facies*, observes an annalist, even in death, *adeo læta apparebat et rubea, ac si eum nulla infirmitas tetigisset.* Ann. Wigorn. Angl. Sacra. i. 529.

† Roll, Dec. 9, Dors. || 31.

‡ In 1226 a bridge was built at Gloucester with timber from the forest of Dean. Rot. Litt. Claus. p. 100 b. 10 Hen. III.

§ Atkyns, p. 317, considers that it was called Prestbury "because it was a town belonging to priests."

the see of Hereford. Its value, taking in Sevenhampton, was £44. 2*s.* 6½*d.** The dean of Hereford claimed a portion of the vicarial tithes, and the abbey of Lanthony the second, nigh Gloucester, through the patronage of Betun and the indulgence of succeeding prelates of Hereford,† enjoyed profits and privileges in this quarter. The manor-house was strongly built of stone and moated round.‡ The adjoining park was stocked with deer. Christmas must be passed somewhere. The King had summoned his nobles and bishops to a parliament. The archbishop had called a congregation of suffragans, to which Swinfield was about to repair. Prestbury was on his way to London, and was an appropriate place to stop at. Care had been taken that nothing should be wanting for the due celebration of the season. The diligence of Gerard de Eugina, the bailiff, a favourite with his master, had attended, among other matters, to the important repairs of the kitchen and oven (the baker and his assistants were ready beforehand), and he had constructed a dresser and penthouse, or awning from the doors of the hall and larder leading towards the kitchen, apparently for the convenience of sheltering and setting down the dishes of viands preparatory to their being ushered into the hall. The reader who expects a record of more than common doings will not be disappointed. Christmas eve was a day of abstinence, a fit prelude for what was to follow. We find, however, a competent supply of herrings, codlings, and conger eels; and, by the way, that could not have been a salmon of mean proportions or rarity that cost the exorbitant sum of 5*s.* 8*d.* The whole disappeared. There is a memorandum of one dozen of cups, 300 dishes, 150 plates, and 200 saucers, or smaller plates(?), laid in for the occasion. The number of horses, suddenly increased this evening from forty-one to fifty-five, intimates the presence of guests; especially as this is reduced on two days after the entertainment.

The festival of the Nativity fell on a Sunday. In the service of the

* Tax. P. Nich. f. 177.

† The way in which they got footing there may be seen in the life of Betun, Angl. Sacra. II. 313. For a privilege of pasture see App. p. 217. Tax. P. Nich. f. 232.

‡ So at least in Atkyns' time. There is still what is called the park.

Mass the Bishop, such was the custom, gave at the offertory for himself and family 4*s.* 1*d.* * as he did at the same time for the workmen in his employ at Womenswould, in Kent,† 1*s.* It cannot be unbecoming to remark, what in itself so well befitted the time, that the household, at least such as wore it, appeared in clean linen. The purveyance of this cheerful day is not so remarkable for variety as substantiality. But in this respect the main feast was sumptuous and superfluous. It was graced with the antique accompaniment of the boar: and some garnish or flavouring extraordinary might be produced from a purchase of lemons made by Deynt, one of the squires, at Ledbury, expressly entered as against Christmas day *(contra Natale)*.‡ Amidst the general glee the cooks are real objects of compassion. They had lost the services of William, chief in command in the kitchen, who was an invalid left behind at Ledbury; but Adam, his lieutenant, little William, and their associates, played their part—and so, it must be allowed, did the consumers, to an extent that can be accounted for only in one way. At the three meals, the daily allowance of earlier times, it may be seen that there were served up two carcases and three quarters of beef, two calves, four does, four pigs, about sixty fowls, and eight partridges, two geese, bread and cheese in proportion; and that the whole was lubricated by ten sextaries of red and one of white wine, and an unscored quantity of beer. Now, considering that something like an estimate can be formed of the members of the family, and the few visitors that might be present, unless these received a great accession of farm-servants and neighbours, who had no horses in the stable, looking at their numbers, and the food set before them, it seems impossible for any human powers in so short a time to have achieved an entire demolition of what we find was expended; unless also others, whom we know not of, had been called to their aid. We are therefore willingly led to believe that a liberal residue was distributed to the poor.§ A much larger quantity of meat appears in

* Dors. ‖ 25. † Id. ‖ 11. ‡ Id. ‖ 24.

§ The Editor is aware that, according to strict rule, an antiquary can have little to do with hypothetical beings or imaginary things; though the imagination be so auxiliary to the production of any impression from a meagre document like that in hand. Adhering to the text he has indulged sparingly in what *might* have been, and still more so in what *must* have been or occurred, leaving it to the judgment of the reader; and holds himself

the account; but the portion here proved to have been consumed is distinguished as epxressly set apart from the rest. Nine does from the park were salted for store.

The festivals of St. Stephen and St. John being past they commenced in earnest their journey towards London, and set out with an increased strength of fifty-one horses. The necessity for this addition may be comprehended from the unceasing wet of an open winter; there had been no frost to bind the roads.* Harbingers preceded, and on Wednesday the 28th they reached Coln Saint Aylwin's, or Aldwin's, near Fairford, in the county of Gloucester, a manor belonging to the abbat of Gloucester, and they seem to have lodged in the manor-house. Sixty houses, and the church of that place, had been given to the abbey for the increase of hospitality.† In the exercise of it the servants furnished them with brushwood, oats, and litter, and received drink in return. Thence, on the morrow, they came to Farringdon, in Berkshire, their harbingers, it is hardly necessary to repeat, taking the lead at every stage. Their course was on the left bank of the Coln, and they crossed near its confluence with the Lech and Thames, at Lechlade ferry, for the charge of two pence. In this town they were obliged to pay for every necessary. They hired kitchen utensils and five men for fetching in brushwood and litter. The kitchen cart had left them to go forward; the horsemen do not seem to have travelled at the slow pace of the carriages, but to have followed them in the rear at their pleasure. They had only thirty-eight horses with them that night. Arrived at Wantage on the 30th the Prestbury carters that had thus far helped them were allowed to return. Beer was bought in Berkshire by the gallon instead of the sextary; sixty-four of them seems a large proportion for the consumption of this single day, besides refreshment to certain servants of J. of Wantage, clerk, who gave them some aid. In the course they were taking they had a tract of country before them in which they required a guide. As previous to his going to Gloucester the Bishop had despatched a messenger to announce his coming, so now before he proceeded to Reading, whither he was bound, he had sent one from Prestbury and

open to deserved correction if he should have transgressed where he has desired to keep within bounds.

* Wikes, quoted in p. lxxxvii. † Atkyns, p. 189.

received from the Abbat, Robert de Burghate, an invitation.* Accordingly, on Saturday, Dec. 31, he entered with his train through the noble gateway of that hospitable house, the frequent resort of kings.† On the mode of his reception the writer has dropped an impenetrable veil. But it is known that the head of this royal establishment, though now it was burdened with debt,‡ lived in great state. One little trait of entertainment has been preserved, if it may be received as such, and assigned to this place. The sound of the harp was in those days the accompaniment of a great man's feast. Hugh, the lord abbat's domestic harper, received a present from Swinfield, surely for no assignable reason but that he played before him.§

Abbey of READING from Dec. 31 to Jan. 4, inclusive.

Two days and nights of monastic hospitality being fulfilled, the Bishop did not, however, immediately quit the town when his gratuitous diet was at an end, nor did he, perhaps, leave the walls of the abbey. On the two first evenings the keeper of his roll leaves blank entries: on the third it is discovered that he has laid out more than usual in provisions; and this gives rise to a suspicion that he invited his friends to partake of his fare in return. Venison they had brought with them; and three fat does were cooked from their store. Partridges too on the morrow they had of their own *(de perquisito)*; they were not far from the manor of Earley, which the Bishop had in hand.¶ The servants of J. of Wantage, who had

* This is fairly inferable from two passages in Dors. ‖24, 25. This Abbat, or his successor, William de Sutton, was entertained in return by my lord's order, during his absence, at the manor-house of Ledbury. Dors. ‖39 c.

† The affection of William of Malmesbury breaks out in his description of this abbey and its inmates. He styles the house *pene omnium itinerantium ad populosiores urbes Angliæ diversorium.* The monks *præclarum sanctitatis exemplum, hospitalitatis indefessæ et dulcis indicium;* and of the resort to it, *videas ibi, quod, non alibi, et plus hospites totis horis venientes, quam inhabitantes, insumant.* Gul. Malmesb. Histor. a. 1119, l. 4.

‡ The abbey had been in debt from 37 Hen. III. and continued so till 8 Ed. II. Dugdale, Mon. last edit. IV. 30.

§ Dors. ‖31.

¶ In p. 21 of the Roll, note d, it is stated that at Earley "the Bishops of Hereford had a manor." This should be corrected to "Cantilupe and Swinfield, Bishops of Hereford, sometime had a manor." The circumstances under which they held it, but not as appertaining to the see, will be seen in p. cxxx infra.

assisted with the teams, were dismissed with a gift *(curialitate)*, and Jan. 3 is distinguished by a dole of bread to the poor. Jan. 4th they set forward on their way to the metropolis, crossed the ferry at Staines, and advanced into Middlesex, resting at

BEDFONT from Jan. 4th to Jan. 7th, inclusive.

The kitchen apparatus had gone on before them to be in use against their coming in. It bears at first sight the semblance of poverty or scarcity in this place,* that while they remained in it the porter should have been despatched to forage at Cookham; but the reason for this is presently apparent. On Friday a trifling symptom of their approach towards the London market shews itself in the addition of the sprat to their other dishes of fish; an incident that had not occurred before. At the next stage they reached the end of their journey:

LONDON from Jan. 7 to 13, inclusive.

The sumpters, whose drivers were allowed drink on the road, had carried forward the victuals that had been bought up in the country *(equi prævenientes cum victualibus)*. The bakers were already at their post; beer and wine had been brought in; and so far matters were prepared when the family made their appearance. Whoever undertook the direction of these movements, careful and provident management may be observed in the arrangement of them. One little swerving from his wonted regularity escapes from John de Kemeseye, he omits on the Saturday of their arrival to sum up the weekly expenditure, a very allowable oversight, if such it were, in the bustle of the evening; but he corrects it at the fortnight's end.†

The house, or inn, as it was called, where the Bishop and his attendants lodged, stood on the west of Old Fish street, in the ward of Queenhithe. It had originally belonged to a Norfolk family, of the name of Montalt or Mounthault, and had been purchased by Bishop Maydenstane about the year 1234. He gave it to his successors in the see of Hereford, that they might have a residence in London whenever it might be necessary for them to

* They had no fish here, though it was a Wednesday. The stock that they brought out with them was exhausted on the previous Saturday. Sheep were eleven pence per carcase at Bedfont, or Cookham. Roll, Jan. 4.

† Roll, Jan. 7, 14.

attend there on any public affairs, as in episcopal congregations or parliaments.* The style and condition of these premises may in part be collected from hints supplied by repairs charged in the endorsement, ‖ 17, 18, and a lease inserted in the APPENDIX, No. V. We are told on good authority that the house was built of stone and timber, and contained large rooms; † the hall is here mentioned; there were out-buildings with stabling, and it had cellaring, ‡ the whole taking up apparently a space of some extent. Repairs had been made in the roof and fastenings of the doors. The tenant, Richard de Chiggewell, received a compensation for my lord's temporary occupation. Thus he not only set in order but actually rented his own house. In the stables the carpenters put up four mangers, and in one that was used by Chiggewell a manger twenty-seven feet long. A pavement or pitching was laid down on the western side of the house. The whole had undergone a thorough cleansing; rushes were bought for the floors, and mats for the benches in the hall. § Every one who entered there found a plenteous board; as to bed, some of the party about this time, and perhaps not unusually, were littered on straw. ‖

And again the bill of fare forces itself on our attention, increased by the diversified produce of the metropolitan market. The Roll is of necessity heavily burdened with meats and drinks; and the occasional display of them cannot be avoided, keep it back as much as we may,

"tamen usque recurrit."

* There was a chapel of St. Mary belonging to it, which was afterwards converted into a parish church by the title of St. Mary Montalt. The Bishop had the presentation. Swinfield instituted Richard de Leuesham, priest, to it in 1300. Reg. Swinf. f. 128 b. The church was burnt in the fire of London, 1666, and never rebuilt; and the parish was annexed to St. Mary Somerset. Maitland, Hist. of London, II. c. 1142.

† Stowe. In the time of Bishop Scory there were three messuages or tenements upon Lambert hill, within the parish of St. Mary Monthault, on the western side of the garden appertaining to the capital messuage. It was leased, 11 Eliz. to Edward Ffines, lord Clinton and Say, earl of Lincoln. Butterfield MS. 213, 214.

‡ The lease particularly provides for stowage of wine. Hamon de Chiggewell, to whom it was granted in 1311, occupies an important place in the city annals. See the reference in APP. V. He was *a pepperer*, i. e. a grocer, and a moneyed man. Bishop Orleton borrowed of him, and gave him his bond. Reg. Orleton, f. 18 a.

§ Dors. ‖ 17, 18. ‖ Roll, Jan. 12, 13.

It returns incessantly, in the literal sense of the proverbial comparison, "as sure as the day."

As they were on the slope that descends to the Thames, near the fishmongers' quarters, they had the advantage of introducing some variety into their list of fish; they had the gurnet, the oyster, and the sturgeon. In fowl they had mallards and one only brace of pheasants.* In flesh, hares and rabbits; venison more than once of their own, and once presented from another larder. Much of their solid meat they had brought with them. Pastry is more frequently made,† and furmity once as a delicacy. The town was full of visitors, brought together from all parts of England; and it may be questioned whether upon such an occasion, in these times, the supply was regulated by the demand.‡ Wheat had doubled its price. No lack of any thing is visible among them; on the contrary; but the visit was in all its circumstances a costly one. One of the most expensive items is that relating to the stable. It is not so regularly kept as other parts of the account, and is left to subsequent calculation. They had sometimes upwards of fifty horses to keep; the reckoning of hay and oats could hardly be made up with any certainty, and was therefore put off. *Fœnum conpu-*

* The peacock, according to a previous remark, p. l, comes in no where; but it was kept for amusement. Not long after this one is found where it might least be expected, exhibiting its gay plumage in the woodland retirement of Acornbury priory. It was a present from the Countess of Pembroke to the prioress, Catherine de Gamages. Pembroke Roll, 25 Ed. I. ut supra.

† There was an oven at the inn, and the fuel for heating it during their short stay cost a considerable sum, 5*s.* 7*d.* Roll, Jan. 14.

‡ Salt herrings, the staple resource of the fasters, were not so high in price at London as they were in the country. Bristol, however, was the best market for them, as far as our present authority has yet shewn. They were both white and red. The latter brought most money. Roll, Dec. 3. Of fresh herrings no mention is now made; but it may be learned from an anecdote related of Antony a Bek, of Durham, that they were once at least enormously dear at a meeting of Parliament; and that he bought forty at a shilling a-piece when no man of rank would venture to give such a price. *Nil ei carum erat, quod ejus gloriam magnificare posset. Pro* XL. *halecibus recentibus* XL. *solidos Londoniæ semel solvit; aliis magnatibus tunc in parliamento ibi consistentibus pro nimia caristia emere non curantibus.* And yet he did not launch into this extravagance for his own appetite, which he was far from indulging: *ad satietatem vix comedit.* Greystanes, Hist. Dunelm. c. XIV. Angl. Sacra. I. 746.

tandum shews itself in several places. They bought a rick in London; it lasted them three days after they left the town, and they sent for it to Kensington. Thomas de la Dane undertook this department. The quantity consumed is only in part accounted for; that of the oats is equally obscure.* They were forced to inquire for them in the country.†

With little observable exception this was a strong and general muster of all the members of the household, clerks, squires, valets, and inferior servants. It was no time for rest or privacy, business of all sorts being the order of the day. De la Dane left the works and workmen at Womenswould, and had come up to set all things in order for them.‡ One object in particular he had before him, the purchase of furs and cloth for winter clothing for all of them, and the delivery of it to the tailors to be made up into suits. He had also to lay in a half year's stock of wax or tapers, sugar and spices;§ besides many other things, as by his bills then given in more fully appeared than has been particularised by Kemeseye.‖ The exchange and payment of difference between old brazen boilers and new is hardly worth citing, except as matter of domestic frugality. The mending of my lord's favourite drinking cup by some London artisan was entrusted to Stephen, his brother. ¶

Swinfield himself was fully occupied. Congregations of bishops were customarily held at the New Temple. Almost every summons, as is shewn by several replies preserved in his episcopal annals, called up the suffragans thither. Not a hint is visible in the present document as to the place where they were now sitting. But each visit that Swinfield makes to the court at Westminster is pointed out, and leaves an intervening day for some other avocation. The part that he took in matters ecclesiastical and civil now in agitation can only be surmised. Let us observe, however, what he is found to have done. His first discernible movement is on Sunday, when he repairs to Westminster, and taking with him one hundred pounds, makes his respectful present of £66. 13*s.* 4*d.* to the King, and £33. 6*s.* 8*d.* to the Queen.** One day then intervenes. On Tuesday he is again at Westminster, attended by his valets, whose breakfast cost 13*d.* The village

* Roll, Jan. 14, side note at Jan. 12. † Id. Jan. 9. ‡ Dors. ‖ 23.
§ Id. ‖ 1 to 6. ‖ Id. ‖ 26. ¶ Id. ‖ 41, 26. ** Id. ‖ 39 a, b.

of Westminster was full of houses of entertainment and shops for the accommodation of those who attended on the court and parliaments. Thomas de la Dane bought the cloths and furs there, and had them sent home by water.* On Wednesday certain of the inferior servants have a spare breakfast allowed them somewhere from home, but we are not informed where they were refreshed at the moderate cost of five farthings. On Thursday he takes his clerks with him, or sends them, to Westminster; they go and return by what has been not inaptly termed the great thoroughfare of the metropolis, the river Thames. On a minute inquiry into their proceedings it comes out that Sunday, Jan. 8th, on which the Bishop made his bow at court, was in some respects a day of secular business. On that day the champion received his three half-years' salaries; and the Archdeacon of Hereford was sent to pay a sum of money to certain merchants of Sienna, resident in London, for a remittance to their correspondents at Rome, in favour of the manager of causes pending there.†

We cannot do much amiss in conceiving of the court that it was a scene of great show and splendour. Edward was a ruler well skilled in varying the gravest councils with the gayest festivities. Who can doubt that at the antique revelry of this New-year's tide there was store of nobles, knights, and ladies, splendidly apparelled and sumptuously feasted, and for their amusement minstrelsy and foolery in abundance? As to music, we are not left in uncertainty by the presents to harpers entered on the endorsement.‡ Though the Bishop entertained no harper, as some prelates and heads of great monastic houses did, yet, according to the remark of the poet,—

> Clerkes and knȳtes welcometh kȳnges mȳnstrales
> For love of here lordes: lithe hem § at festes. ‖

One indication has been already gleaned, and more will ensue, of Swinfield having been far from turning a deaf ear to their strains. Edward encouraged many professors of the gentle art in England, though he had frowned upon them in Wales.

Of the proceedings, or even existence, of the congregation we have no memoranda to produce from any other authority. It is seen, however, to

* Dors. ‖ 4. † Id. ‖ 32, 39 b. ‡ Id. ‖ 14, 16.
§ Listen to them. ‖ Piers Ploughman. Passus Septimus.

have been called together contemporaneously with the opening of parliament. The latter, at which many important measures were discussed, continued sitting from Monday, Jan. 2, till Feb. 19; but our quiet prelate, who so often begged to be excused from attendance upon public meetings,* retired from the concourse and parade on the Friday after his arrival, and, commencing his retreat into the country, took shelter at

KENSINGTON from Jan. 13 to 16, inclusive.

About the year 1100 Godfrey de Vere had granted a manor here to the abbat and convent of Abingdon, and both Cantilupe and Swinfield used to make the house† their resting-place when they were upon this road. Particulars observable under this head are, that an anchoritess dwelt here, to whom he gave an alms, and that before his departure he sent off John, his foreign courier, with despatches to his proctor, Richard de Pudlesdone, at the court of Rome.‡ On the following Monday they retrace their steps, halt, and continue at

BEDFONT from Jan. 16 to 18, inclusive.

Their method of travelling has been sufficiently explained in the advance: it continued the same in the return. At Bedfont they were indebted to the rector of Stanwell for hay two days and nights. Such hospitable and well-timed succours, where provender might not have been had for money, may be accounted for by the store of hay and corn that incumbents kept by them from the collection of tithes in kind; an observation that should be borne in mind through the visitations that are before us. Deviating from the former route, they avoided Reading, and turned aside to EARLEY, a manor in that vicinity. A family who derived their name from

* These excuses were mostly made upon his infirmity, as in APP. No. IX. yet he struggled hard against it. In July 1295 he was unable to be present at a Congregation held in the New Temple about the middle of the month, being at Bosbury, very ill. In the following month, however, he was at Hoxton, near London; but returned to his diocese, and was again summoned to a parliament in November. He went up from Bosbury through Prestbury, and when he had reached Wantage was taken so ill that he could proceed no further. Reg. Swinf. ff. 114 b, 115 a.

† On the site of this manor-house Holland House was afterwards built by Sir Walter Cope, father-in-law to Henry Rich, Earl of Holland. Lysons, Environs of London, III. 172, 175.

‡ Dors. ‖33, 16.

this place had long been settled in it, and held their property of the crown by knight-service.* Henry de Earley, dying about the 4th year of Edw. I. 1276, left John, his son, a minor and ward of the king. In the following year Edward sold the profits of the estate, with the wardship and marriage † of this heir, to Thomas de Cantilupe, for the sum of two hundred pounds.‡ Upon the decease of that prelate it was left to his executors, Swinfield and William de Montfort, dean of St. Paul's in London, to manage and pay the proceeds into the hands of Juliana, sister of Cantilupe, the cousin, as she is styled, of De Montfort, and widow of Sir Robert Tregoz, lord of Ewias. And this was the present state of affairs. John of Earley, just emerging from his minority, expected about this time to have entered into possession, but could not legally do so, because he had not as yet made pecuniary satisfaction for his marriage.§ In the meantime Swinfield and his co-executor retained their hold upon it. A chapel, dedicated to St. Nicholas, was attached to the manor-house, the officiating minister of which was called a rector.‖ Swinfield held ordinations in it, as he did also in the chapel of the Virgin, denominated the King's chapel, in the abbey of Reading, in 1287, during the illness of the Bishop of Salisbury, and vacancy of that see.¶ It was usual that those who had wardships should covenant to deliver up the premises in repair, when the minor came to enter upon them.** Such, whenever that event took place, was the case in this

* Lib. Nig. Scacc. Hearne, p. 188. It was some time held of Robert fitz Peter, as mesne lord, afterwards evidently in capite.

† For the sale and purchase of the marriage alliances of royal wards, see Green's Lives of the Princesses, II. 248.

‡ A curious little memorandum, concerning the receipt for payment of part of this money, reveals the sort of hiding-places in which evidences were kept. It was in a chest at the back of the high altar in St. Paul's; at the reredos. *Memorandum, quod depositæ fuerunt duæ talliæ per dominum Willielmum de Ffaukeburn' et Johannem de Clare de solutione centum librarum pro Arleye, in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Londoniæ, videlicet, in quodam parvo forcerio de corio existente in quadem cista stante retro magnum altare ecclesiæ memoratæ. In qua aliæ res domini deponuntur; cujus cistæ claves penes dominum W. de Ffaukeburn' tunc temporis residebat.* Reg. Cantil. f. 52 a.

§ Reg. Swinf. f. 54 b. ‖ Roll, Jan. 22. ¶ Reg. Swinf. ff. 47 a, b. 76 b.

** In a contract for sale of the wardship and marriage of John and Margery de

instance. A dateless note is made of the rebuilding of the hall, and the restoration of my lord's chamber, and that of the clerks.* Earley being easily accessible from Oxford, and the Bishop remaining at it a few days, young Robert and Richard Kingessuod, for whose maintenance and education at the university remittances had lately been sent by different hands, rode hither to greet their patron and benefactor, who paid two shillings for their horse-hire, and gave sixpence to their attendant.† The eye of the reader will have become familiarised to the comparative smallness of sums that were not beneath the liberality of a Bishop. So many farthings recur among his way-side alms as to encourage a notion that such was ordinarily the individual gift bestowed upon those who sought for charity at his or his eleemosynary's hands.‡ The circulation of these little pieces was promoted by the coinage of 1278, which gave to the public a complete new series of round pennies, half pennies, and farthings.§ Though Earley was a temporary home to them, it was less so than some of their occasional homes. The market at Reading might be at a convenient distance; but they could not bake their bread without buying faggot-wood; or heat their oven without having it repaired. They must send the farrier to the town for horse-shoes before they could move forward. Upon the whole, they were rather on spare diet, and particularly on Saturday, Jan. 21. They made amends, however, on the 22d, when they had beef and pork in abundance, fowls, and venison, and partridges of their own. Leaving this place on Jan. 23, they once more rested at WANTAGE, and on the following day were at LECHLADE. The servants' drink, and the bread or mashes given to the horses by the way *(in pane ad equos per viam)*, on which they were assisted by the loan of a team from the friendly Abbat of Reading,‖ create an impression of the halts and difficulties of the road; and in fact at BUSCOT, near Lechlade, the kitchen-cart, containing a quantity of luggage *(cum hernesio domini et familiæ)*, was accidentally

Mathefeld to Adam de Credela (Cradley), in 1302, it was stipulated that de Credela should repair the cow-house, and keep up the other buildings, and restore them when the parties came of lawful age to as competent a state as they came into his hands, paying due and customary service to the Bishop of Hereford. Reg. Swinf. f. 138 a.

* Reg. Swinf. f. 121 b. † Dors. ‖ 78.

‡ Roll, Jan. 16, 18, 23, 24, 25; Feb. 23.

§ Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, I. 432. ‖ Dors. ‖ 27.

upset, and some of its contents appear to have been damaged or destroyed. They were obliged to seek for help to get it up again, and the consequence was that Harpin stayed behind to take care of the property till the injury could be repaired, and 50 dishes, 2 dozen of cups, 100 plates, and 50 saucers were bought in upon the third day after they were settled once more for awhile * at

PRESTBURY, from Jan. 25 till Feb. 23.

A longer breathing-time than Kemeseye has hitherto recorded on his Roll. The greater part of the routine may be passed over as presenting no prominent feature. Intercourse with Gloucester was frequent; it was their principal market; the cook and butler went thither as purveyors; and thence they drew their supplies of fish. The number of horses varying on different nights implies a resort of visitors to the manor-house. Lent began on the 15th of February. Milk and cheese, figs, almonds and raisins, are prominent among the fare of Ash-Wednesday. During the quiet here enjoyed two improvements were made on the premises, in addition to those about the house at Christmas, a warren in the park, and a turning bridge or drawbridge over some trench or moat. But they must speedily shift their quarters. The waggon, a most necessary accompaniment of their wanderings, was sent to Ledbury to be fitted with a caretill (or tilt ?), and on Thursday, the festival of St. Peter ad Vincula, the whole party directed their course towards Herefordshire; and were at the manor of

LEDBURY from Feb. 23 to March 3.

Within this time few occurrences worthy of note arrest the attention. The adjustment of a dispute between the Bishop and the prior and convent of Lantony nigh Gloucester was settled in a satisfactory manner; and an agreement between the parties, including the chapter of Hereford, was confirmed on March 1, by their mutual seals in the chapter-house.† In domestic concerns the produce of the Ledbury vineyard during the last season is here, March 2, brought to account. The plantation was of the white grape; but the wine made from it, like the foreign red, was chiefly transferred to Bosbury, where its consumption may be traced in a further

* Roll, Jan. 24, 27, 28. Dors. ‖ 25.

† Dors. ‖ 38. APP. XI. 2.

part of the Roll. It was not, however, appropriated to household use without being allowed for among the produce of the farm *(vinum album emptum et allocatum)*. The seven pipes of wine, and nearly one of verjuice, obtained from the vintage of 1289, were valued at eight pounds; and this home-made article, compared with the Bristol purchases, admitting the capacity of the vessels, which are all termed *dolia*, to have been the same, may be estimated roughly at about half the value of that imported from abroad.*

The previous statement of their drawing wine from the wood is established by their now having recourse to a cask that had been tapped when they were at Ledbury before *(tonello prius inthamiato)*. William, the head-cook, who was detained here by illness on board wages, while my lord was absent in London, had his expenses allowed; and, either on account of his indisposition, or the infirmity of the Bishop, Master John Gỳreberd, a physician, was called in upon March 2d, as it were, preparatory to the journey of some importance that was to commence on the morrow. Episcopal visitations, that in former ages, according to the ancient law of England, had been annual,† and probably extended to every place in which there were resident clergy, were gradually protracted to a longer term after the establishment of parishes, when churches and pastors increased. The difficulty of discharging that office in large dioceses had led to the appointment of subordinate assistants, archdeacons, and rural deans, who relieved a part of the burden; as well as to an extension of the period allowed, and the discretionary adaptation of it to the convenience of the diocesan.‡ These changes had been at work before the time of Swinfield; but bishops still made circuits in person throughout their dioceses. The Roll is confirmatory of the fact; but as to the custom of triennial visitation, subsequently established in the church,

* Roll, Dec. 3; July 11. The Bishop of Hereford was not the only cultivator of the vine at Ledbury. In after times the descendants of Bishop Skipp, at the Upper Hall in that parish, had a vineyard on their estate. Towards the end of the 17th century, George Skipp, Esq. made both white and red wine from his plantation. He died in 1690. The Editor has often seen the site on which the vines grew.

† Gibson, Codex, p. 958, note c, referring to the year 787.

‡ *Circumeant Dioceses suas temporibus opportunis, corrigendo et reformando ecclesias, et consecrando et verbum Dei seminando in agro dominico.* Constitut. Othon. Lyndwood, pp. 56 et seq.

neither this nor his other recorded proceedings give direct information. Be it as it may, we are now to note his progress of inspection and visitation through some of the southern parts of the territory subject to his ecclesiastical rule; whether undertaken in its customary routine, or prompted in any degree by the approaching valuation of church property, it were needless to inquire.

The expenses of such journeys, though they fell chiefly upon the traveller, are shewn to have been relieved at the places of halting, partly by gifts, but more materially by what in the language of ecclesiastical law are termed *procurations*, board and lodging for man and horse. Gifts *(de dono)* are the more frequent mode of contribution; and seem to have been by rule confined to the wants of the stable. Occasionally we meet with an offering to the larder *(exhennium)*. Invitations *(ad rogatum)* are carefully noted as distinct from the demand of procurations, which were required *ratione visitationis*. These were due to the person visiting by common as well as by canon law; but it is not ascertained, so far as the researches of the editor extend, when or why, or by whom, they came to be imposed in this or any diocese upon the incumbents of certain churches to the omission of others, as it is found they were when Swinfield went round. In some cases, indeed, the incumbent disputed his liability to entertain the party; and when the claim was not fully established, it was met by an amicable adjustment or understanding that still left it open; but in the instance of one refractory person, the rector of Wistanstow, in 1288, the Bishop instituted proceedings, and enforced submission.* Many monasteries claimed exemption. Procurations had been attended with great abuses from those ecclesiastics who inconsiderately brought enormous retinues, and assumed the liberty of inviting idle or unofficial guests. It frequently threw an intolerable burden on an individual or a religious house, and plunged them into inextricable difficulties. The story of an archdeacon of Richmond, in Yorkshire, in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, has been frequently cited. On his visitation to the priory of Bridlington he took with him ninety-seven horses, twenty-one dogs, and three hawks;† and, what comes more immediately under our

* See this case in App. No. XXII.

† See Dansey, Horæ Decanicæ Rurales, I. 204, and references.

period, in the year 1290, on the 13th of November, Godfrey, Bishop of Worcester, in spite of canonical prohibition, being at variance with the prior and convent of Worcester, came to visit them with 140 horses and a great multitude of attendants; and though he was only received on diet for one day, continued with them three days. But this was not done without an appeal on the part of the prior.*

We have the satisfaction of knowing that Bishop Swinfield confined himself to the number of men and horses allowed to his rank; and, with these preliminary observations on the general nature of his undertaking, may be prepared to accompany him on his way.

On the third of March he set out towards MARCLE, between four and five miles distant from Ledbury; and thus far, and no farther, he advanced on that day. Neither the incumbrances with which he travelled, the nature of his occupation, nor the ways through which he had to pass, required or admitted of speed. No horses but such as were accustomed to the country could even in later times ably fathom the clayey road between Ledbury and this place; and once more it may be remarked, that in this, as in other parts of the Roll, horse-shoes and shoe-nails formed no unessential articles of expenditure.

* He turned the prior out of his chamber; and it seems like an aggressive act, that need not have been committed, if then, as since, the Bishop had a palace hard by the cathedral. Annal. Wigorn. Angl. Sacra, I. 511. For remedy of such encroachments it had been provided by the Lateran council, under Pope Alexander III. a. 1167, that archbishops should travel, according to circumstances (*pro diversitate provinciarum et facultatibus ecclesiarum*), with forty or fifty horses; bishops, with twenty or thirty; cardinals, with never more than twenty; archdeacons, with five or seven; and rural deans were to be content with two. When procurations were afterwards commuted into a monetary charge, an archdeacon received seven shillings and sixpence for himself, and one shilling and sixpence for his horse; and for any other horse and his rider twelvepence. The number of servants to take care of the horses became a subject of nice calculation. Some thought one groom on foot to a horse and rider sufficient; others, one to three horses; a third allowance was only one to two horses and their riders. These are the minute observations of Lyndwood upon a constitution of Archbishop Stephen relating to archdeacons' visitations. He refers it, however, to the custom of the country. In England mounted servants usually were in attendance; and he concludes upon the whole that two persons were enough for the care of seven horses. Such is the gravity with which minor points are discussed in the glosses upon ecclesiastical law. Provinciale, Lib. III. Tit. 22, f. 220 a.

The researches of modern writers have not satisfactorily determined the rate of travelling in these remoter times. It manifestly derived little convenience either from carriages or roads. The day's journey of a royal equipage is hardly a criterion for deducing an average of the usual speed; and such as depended upon waggons and sumpters could at best get on but slowly. But, whereas distances of between twenty and thirty miles accomplished in a day were sometimes pushed by horsemen to forty and upwards of sixty, it has been concluded that the popular notion of bad roads and tardy locomotion has been exaggerated.* Such, however, would more probably have been extraordinary measures of progress under emergencies, by long daylight, over green summer roads, or by nearer cuts across the country, where a king or a king's messenger might pass without rebuke. In any case, our travellers took their course by easier stages.

There was no resident rector at Marcle to receive them. The great tithes were appropriated to the abbey of Lyra in Normandy. That body having no monastery, but several churches in the diocese, employed a monk of their order as proctor, who was honoured with the title of *dominus*, and had another associated with him to collect the proceeds of their rectories.† This proctor gave them oats and hay. As to the Bishop's personal lodging while he was out on these occasions, it was settled by one of the legatine constitutions of Othobonus in 1261, that wherever appropriation of tithes existed, the owners were bound to find convenient houses for ecclesiastical visitors.‡ Once more to NEWENT, closely adjacent, and in the Forest Deanery. March 4 and 5. Instances are given in both kinds of the assistance received here on the first day by gifts from the prior and vicar. The prior, who had lately shown the same courtesy (p. cxvi), could afford to repeat it. The house was well appointed with spirituals, temporals,

* Hallam, State of Europe, III. 171. Cole, Documents illustrat. of English History, preface, xi.

† This has been ascertained since the note e, p. 59, of the Roll, was written.

‡ Constitut. Othoboni, Tit. 22. De appropriationibus Ecclesiarum, f. 121 b. Ed. Oxon. 1679. The words are *in quibus recipi possint honeste visitantes*. On the expression *honeste* John de Atho gives this curious gloss. *Cum privata Garderoba, et cum Chaiminice secundum usum Gallicorum.* This, if rightly interpreted, as signifying chimneys, appears to refer the invention of that convenience to the French? De Atho flourished about 1290.

and moveables, for its maintenance; with appropriations, pensions, rents of assize, several mills, perquisites of a market and fair, neighbouring and distant lands, and customary tenants bound to labour annually in harvest. Their great tithes of Newent alone were worth £26. 13*s.* 4*d.*, while the vicarage amounted to less than four pounds;* yet out of the scanty income of the vicar, as well as out of the abundance of the prior, no small proportion of the contribution was drawn. But on the second day, when the church was formally visited, Symon, the prior, took the whole burden, and entertained the Bishop *(in victualibus)* and all that accompanied him, man and horse. The purchase of material for a mortar-light brings back the thought of that physician so lately sent for to Ledbury before my lord's departure. Lights were burnt in the chambers of the sick, the infirm, and females. Recourse had been had before to this luxury, when they were in London.† Another short stage, crossing the road between Gloucester and Ross, brought them to CHURCHAM, March 6. This had of old belonged to the monastery of Gloucester, and, together with the manor of Highnam, may be said to have been to that abbey as the price of blood. In a dark and lawless time, about the year 1048, Wolphine le Rue, a savage chieftain, had rashly slain seven of their monks on the road from this place to Gloucester,‡ and the above surrender was the condition of his peace with the church, or a death-bed expiation for his departing soul. §

* Taxat. P. Nich. ff. 171 b, 175 b.

† When John, Abbat of Wigmore, resigned in 1296, on account of age and disability to rule the house, the kind consideration of the brethren provided, among other indulgences, that he should always have a cresset burning in his chamber at night. Reg. Swinf. f. 116 b. The dowager Countess of Pembroke and her daughter-in-law, Beatrice, were each of them in the habit of burning one in their chambers at Goodrich Castle; it lasted a week. Pembroke Roll, ut supra.

‡ Atkyns, 175 b.

§ It is a fact worth rescuing from obscurity, with reference to this place, that Isabella, the unworthy consort of Edward II., after his death, designed to rebuild the church, if she did not actually accomplish it, as appears by the license granted for it by Bishop Chorleton, the successor of Orleton. ‖ *Licentia concessa dominæ Isabellæ Reginæ Angliæ pro constructione cujusdam ecclesiæ.* ‖ *Memorandum, quod* 23 *die Junii ibidem* (sc. apud Prestbury), *dominus concessit literatorie licentiam specialem excellentissimæ dominæ, dominæ Isabellæ, reginæ Angliæ, quod posset construere de novo in parochia de Churcheham infra fines et limites Herefordensis dioceseos quamdam*

The abbat and prior supplied brushwood, litter, and oats, on the first night. The cook went to the fish market in the city. In the list of his purchases are minnows and elvers, oysters, and a considerable quantity of grosser fresh and salt water fish. My lord's mazer cup was there repaired. A short turn brought them to FLAXLEY, March 8, where they lodged in the Cistertian abbey of that name, seated according to the fashion of that order in the bosom of a woody vale. It was subject to the Bishop; and in the superior of that house he met with one to whom he had given his pastoral benediction on election and confirmation a few months before. The form of this ceremony, on the part of the Abbat, here translated from the original, is preserved, as if by way of precedent, in the register of the see.

"‖ The profession of brother Nicholas, abbat of Flaxley, which he made to lord Richard, by the grace of God, Bishop of Hereford, in his chapel of Bosbury, on the Lord's day next before the feast of Saint Margaret, virgin and martyr, to wit, the 15th of the kalends of August, in the year of our Lord 1288.

"‖ I, brother Nicholas, Abbat of Flaxley, promise, saving our order, that I will constantly shew the subjection, reverence, and obedience, appointed by the holy fathers according to the rule of Saint Benedict,* to thee, lord father, Bishop Richard, and to thy successors canonically instituted, and to the see of Hereford." †

No heads of religious houses in the diocese seem to have acquiesced more cordially in submission to episcopal authority than those of Flaxley and Dore.

March 9, continuing southward, from Flaxley towards AWRE, and still

ecclesiam, quantum in ipso erat, absque ipsius præjudicio vel alterius cujuscunque. Reg. Thomæ Chorleton, f. xxvii. a. in 1329. This, coming from one who was at the very time living in open concubinage with her paramour, will hardly gain credit for having arisen so much from the tenderness of remorse or the notion of expiation as from a politic desire of shewing outward marks of favour to the abbey in which the remains of her late husband were laid. Edward III. by granting to that house remission of certain dues, expressed his approbation of their conduct, and remunerated them for their great expense in receiving his father to an honourable sepulture, when others, St. Augustine's of Bristol, St. Mary's of Kingswood, and St. Aldhelm's of Malmesbury, were restrained from interfering through dread of the queen and Mortimer. Chron. Glouc. Abbey, under Abbat John de Thokey, who resigned in 1329.

* The Cistertians were a branch of the Benedictines. Nasmith's Tanner, preface, p. ix.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 53 b.

in the Forest deanery, my lord took NEWNHAM in his way, and tarried awhile to discharge one of the duties of a visitor by preaching. Hitherto, next to his having been a bishop and a native of Kent, almost the only particular handed down respecting him, and repeated from one writer to another, is that he was a celebrated preacher. As to the pulpit eloquence of this century little is known of its method of inculcating the doctrines and duties of Christianity, and that little is perhaps not much in its favour. The contemporary Bishop of Worcester frequently preached on visitations; and some of the texts of his discourses addressed to religious houses are extant in his register.* While Swinfield was preaching at Newnham the horses of himself and his party were baited for one penny. He was at AWRE that night, and the rector gave hay and corn for his stable. The living was some time in the gift of the Valences, Earls of Pembroke, its annual value £40,† and the manor was shared between them and Matilda de Mortimer.‡ He next appears at WOOLASTON, March 10, the southernmost nook in this part of the diocese, not far from the confluence of Severn and Wye. The great tithes of Woolaston, worth £20 per annum, had been bestowed upon the abbey of Tintern, in the county of Monmouth, by Walter de Clare, the noble founder of that stately house. He and his brother Roger, in 1131, had won Woolaston from the Welsh by arms. Stephen de Trillec, the vicar of the parish, had been admitted in June, 1288. His annual receipts were under £4,§ and he could not be expected to offer any contribution. The abbat's gifts of corn and hay are forthcoming both on the first and third night; but on the second day, when the visitation of the church was held, Swinfield,

* An instance of this is as follows. ‖ *Procurationes Episcopi.* ‖ *Item, die Jovis in crastino beati Michaelis, dominus Episcopus visitavit apud Sanctum Augustinum Bristolliæ, et prædicavit ibi, præsentibus priore et monachis Sancti Jacobi de Bristollia, et magistro ac suis fratribus Sancti Martii de ordin', cujus thema fuit: "videam voluptatem Domini et visitem templum ejus."* Et procuratus fuit eodem die sumptibus domus.* Reg. Godfr. Giffard, f. 294 b. in 1288.

† Tax. P. Nichol. f. 161 b. Joan, widow of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, recovered her right of presentation to it against William Paynel, Nov. 9, 30 Edw. I. Reg. Swinf. f. 133 b.

‡ Atkyns, 122. § Reg. Swinf. f. 48 b. Tax. P. Nichol. 161 b.

* Ps. xxvi. 4, Vulg. Trans.

and all that came with him, from his senior chaplain to his lowest sumpter-page, with every animal in the train, shared in the abbat's procuration. The Bishop himself, according to the rule of recording adopted by Kemeseye in his roll, is represented as having crossed after the ceremony to the opposite bank of the river.* From the moment that he had passed the stream he had left his diocese, and entered that of LLANDAFF; and there he spent the remainder of that day and night. The following morning ushered in the sabbath and the feast of Saint Gregory. That fine conventual church whose ruins still raise their time-worn head above the valley, and astonish and delight the beholder by the majesty of their proportions and the beauty of their detail,—that church was then but newly completed by the now forgotten architect, and the choir had been last and lately opened for religious purposes in all its freshness and glory.† If Swinfield had not seen it before this visit, a view of it, and attendance upon the service within its walls, would have well repaid the pains of a purpose journey thither. The site and beauty of TINTERN, with its landscape accompaniments of meadow and wood, and rock and flowing water, have long since employed and exhausted the descriptive powers of language. The founder, or his advisers, independently of pious motives, must surely have cherished a natural and romantic taste for the picturesque in making choice of such a spot. Should such digressions be considered too remote from our subject, the existing condition of this monastic society may fairly claim a passing notice. Buried as they might seem to be in this splendid retirement, they lived, however, within reach of all the means of comfort known to those days. Their position was in a wild but not in a desert. They had been well endowed by successive founders. They had Bristol at hand for river-carriage of

* It is scarcely probable that he would have taken all his party to the abbey by the bridge over the estuary at Striguil (Chepstow), only to have brought them back on the following day. A ferry below the abbey, connecting it with Woolaston, would have easily transported those who accompanied him, leaving the material lumber of his train behind. For the identity of Striguil and Chepstow see Mr. Ormerod's learned dissertation in Archæologia, XXIX.

† 1287. *Conventus ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ de Tynterna intravit dictam ecclesiam ad celebrandum in nova Ecclesia. Et quinto nonas Octobris in anno sequenti conventus intravit in choro; et prima Missa celebrata sunt* (sic) *ad magnum altare.* Will. de Worcestre, ed. Nasmith, p. 132.

corn and wine, and foreign stores: wears and fisheries many on the Wye and Severn for the capture of salmon: through Woolaston and over Tidenham chase, and westward from Wye to Usk, their sheep and cattle strayed in wide pastures: their abbat was a great sheep-master; his wool that he annually sold to Flemish merchants * was a little income to the house. Their endowments and rights, and they were not a few, are set forth in the charter of William Marshall, second Earl of Pembroke, confirming the gifts of his predecessors in an ample and liberal manner.† The rateable value of their temporals was given in under the Taxation of Pope Nicholas at £108. 9*s.* 8*d.* It cannot be too strictly recollected that in all these statements of income the comparative value, according to the scale by which it is now usually estimated, would be greatly multiplied; and that the actual, if it could be ascertained, would doubtless present much more. Such, however, is a general view of their condition, as to means and advantages, at the hour when Bishop Swinfield sat in their refectory with the abbat and brethren of the Cistertian house of the blessed Mary of Tintern.

While he was at Woolaston it may be noted that he was overtaken by a king's messenger; the probable object of whose mission may be pointed out by the fact that in three weeks from this time, on the Easter Monday ensuing, a parliament was summoned to assemble at Woodstock, in Oxfordshire.‡

Taking leave of his friends at Tintern he drew back to Woolaston, slept there once more, and on March 13 was at NEWLAND. The Bishop of Llandaff, by grant from the king, had about this period § obtained the appropriation of the great tithes to make up for his slender income. They were farmed by Ralph Hathewy. The Hathewys were a family of consequence in the forest of Dean; they are met with among the royal bailiffs of that territory. The residence of such as held that office was in the castle of Saint Briavel's. They possessed lands in that parish, and gave name to a manor. ‖ Swinfield found the house of reception cleansed for him; and this farmer was ready with his offering of oats and hay.

* Rot. Hundred. I. p. 176 a. † Dugdale, Monastic. in Tintern.

‡ Rot. Parl. 18 Edw. I. p. 15, *post Pascha.* This was the second parliament held within the twelvemonth famous for parliaments, though they are confusedly recorded. A third was *in crastino Trinitatis*; a fourth *a die Sancti Michaelis.*

§ 14 Edw. I. Reg. Swinf. f. 48 b. ‖ Atkyns, p. 153 b.

The course that they were pursuing, and afterwards resumed through the lower part of the diocese, was manifestly interrupted by a diversion northward, and a continuance at

Ross from March 14 to 18.

A rural deanery derived its title from this town, and comprehended fourteen churches. Here was both a rectory and a vicarage, in the gift of the occupant of the see, each of them of no inconsiderable value for the time, the former returned at £40, the latter at £13. 6*s*. 8*d*. per annum.* The present rector, John de Scelving, had been instituted on Christmas-eve, 1288.† Of Nicholas, his vicar, described only by his christian name, it has been shewn that he had lately incurred ecclesiastical censure for joining certain of the inhabitants in disfiguring the churchyard by uncanonical destruction of trees therein. On the decease of Scelving, and afterwards of Nicholas, John de Kemeseye, the writer of the Roll, became rector, and held sometime both rectory and vicarage, which were united in his favour; though when he resigned them, in 1307, they appear to have been separated again.‡ If the site of the rectory has continued unchanged, the ecclesiastical buildings in Ross formed a triangle, having that and the church at its apex to the eastward, and the vicarage and manor-house at the southern and northern extremities of its base, ranging with the cliff which commands the valley of the Wye.§

The incidents that occurred here, as they shew themselves upon the Roll, are soon enumerated. Except from what is going on elsewhere during this tour, it could not with any certainty be inferred that their touching at Ross was for the purpose of visitation. No gift, no invitation, no procuration, is named. As the Bishop was, however, manorial as well as ecclesiastical lord, he might be holding his court as well as his visitation. From one or both of these causes Wednesday, March 15, is a most crowded day. The previous sending out of Foliot, the messenger: the great increase of horses, amounting to 70; whereas the Bishop entered the town with 34, and quitted it with 36; the quantity of fish, in part supplied by John of Longford and his partners, who dragged the great pool, that now exists only in

* Tax. P. Nichol. p. 161. † Reg. Swinf. f. 56 b. ‡ Id. ff. 113 b, 120 a, 160 b.
§ The vicarage-house remained till the latter end of the eighteenth century.

the Roll; the sugar and oil bought in for the use of the kitchen; all these particulars are expressive of some unusual concourse and sumptuous entertainment at the manor-house; 13 sextaries of wine and more than 10 of beer were procured, and nearly 10 of the former were drank. May not these circumstances be characteristic of generous reception and honoured guests? The scarcity of good water on that spot, a defect that obtains in many parts of the town, occasioned the employment of hands *(in aqua karianda)* to bring it from some spring at a distance, or from the river below.

On Ross we may, however, dwell a little longer: other circumstances attached to it at this remote period are so descriptive of the customs of the age that they should not be suffered to remain in oblivion.

It has been observed (p. xxvi.) that the feudal system with regard to knight-service was already upon the decline; and it was the same as to villeinage, that abject condition in which a large class of human beings had existed from the earliest times. The lands occupied by *villani* or *bordarii*, according to Domesday book, had been very extensive; but manumissions, gratuitous or by purchase, had long been adopted, and were not unfrequently occurring. Some writers, whose opinion is entitled to the highest respect, have represented that the church was tardy in setting her hereditary slaves at liberty.* That she had often had compassion upon them is evident even in the Anglo-Saxon æra;† and that they were now permitted sometimes to obtain their freedom by purchase among the estates of the see of Hereford, or, in the expressive language of the age, "to buy their own blood,"‡ may be set beyond a doubt: the instance to be adduced is not the only one that might be found in which Bishop Swinfield appears as the benefactor to a servile race.

* Sir T. Smith, quoted by Sir F. M. Eden on the State of the Poor, 4to. 1797, vol. I. 10. Macaulay, Hist. of Engl. I. 24.

† See the Charters of Manumission in Madox, Formul. Anglic. and those in Archæologia, XXX.

‡ Blount, Tenures, p. 486, where a villein regardant, at Bosbury, is shewn to have had this right, and seems to have paid for it by instalments at certain periods. *W. M. tenet novem acras terræ customariæ in Bosbury in com. Heref. et quoddam molendinum aquaticum ad voluntatem domini; et debet quasdam consuetudines, viz. tak et toll, et faldfey*, et sanguinem suum emere.

There was now living at Hamme (Hom), in the parish of Ross, as bailiff at the head of the servants of the manor, one Robert, surnamed Crul or Kyrle, whose appellation stamps him as descended from one of those Anglo-Saxon ceorls that were brought into bondage by their Norman lords. His family appears to have consisted of his mother, wife, and children, attached to a portion of manor on which they resided, and laboured for their own advantage, being at the same time bound by certain services to their lord. Such tenants, though originally subjected to the hardest tasks, and having neither time, nor possessions, nor limb, nor life, that they could call their own, had gradually attained unto an ameliorated condition; were allowed to exercise their industry for their private benefit; and in some instances acquired sufficient property for the purchase of their freedom. Thus it was with Robert Kyrle. His condition in law was that of *villein regardant*. In twelve years from this time, on his payment of forty marks, the whole of this family, excepting the mother, were released from servitude for ever. The "Inspeximus" of the writing by which this was effected on the part of the Bishop, and its confirmation by the dean and chapter, without whose consent none of the temporal goods of the see could be alienated, exhibits the method of such a transaction. It may be premised, by way of explanation, that to make a deed of this kind more secure, it was usual to insert the name of a third person as paying the consideration-money for the enfranchisement. The intervention of that person brings forward once more none other than John de Kemeseye, the then incumbent of Ross.

* ‖To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing shall come, John, dean of the church of Hereford and the chapter of the same place, health everlasting in the Lord. Know all of you that we have inspected the charter of our venerable father lord Richard, by the grace of God Bishop of Hereford, in these words:—To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present letters shall come, Richard, by divine mercy Bishop of Hereford, health everlasting in the Lord. Know all of you that we have granted, sold, given up, manumitted, and by the presents render free Robert Crul of Hamme, and Matilda his wife, with all his offspring begotten and to be begotten, together with all his goods holden and to be holden, to Sir John de Kemeseye, rector of the church of Ross, for 40 marks sterling, which the said Sir John hath paid to us beforehand, willing and granting, for us and our successors, that the said Robert and Matilda his wife, with

* Reg. Swinf. f. 135 b. ‖Carta domini de manumissione Roberti de Hamme de Ros et confirmatio capituli.

the whole of their offspring aforesaid, shall be for ever free and quit from all yoke of servitude or bond of naiveté for the time to come, and the same do in form aforesaid to the aforenamed John, for us and our successors, by the presents quit claim for ever. So that neither we nor our successors, nor any other in our name, shall be able hereafter to exact, claim, or assert any right or claim of servitude or naiveté on the bodies of the aforesaid Robert and Matilda his wife, or on their issue aforesaid, or on the goods and chattels of the same acquired or to be acquired, but be shut out by the presents from every kind of action, plaint, and demand any longer, in any court whatsoever, finally and for ever: saving to us and our successors, Bishops of Hereford, the ancient state of the whole of the customary or native land which the said Robert or his mother, or any other person in his name, now hold of us. In testimony whereof, our seal hath been appended to these presents. Witnesses, Walter Motun, John lord of Walford, John de la Walle, Peter le Neive, Thomas Cook of Ross, John lord of Caleburgh (Caleb'gh'), John le Welse of Marcle, John of Caple, William Bretun de Calewe, Henry of Waleford, and others. Given at Bosbury, 18th of the kalends of July, in the year of our Lord 1302, and the twentieth of our ordination. Now we accounting the said donations, grant, sale, and manumission ratified, do confirm them, as much as to us appertaineth, in the Lord, with unanimous assent, by the present writing and the protection of our seal. Given in our chapter of Hereford, 13th of the kalends of July, in the year of our Lord 1302.

Such was the magic influence of this little enfranchising charter granted by Swinfield, that henceforth no male of this race could be termed villein (villain), no female, neive (knave).* But the more ancient appellation of ceorl was still retained. The honourable families of Walford and Marcle, with all their offsets, trace their pedigrees up to this individual, and the blood of Robert the ceorl of Hom was fairly ennobled four centuries after in his descendant, John Kyrle, THE MAN OF ROSS.†

It is an historical fact, almost forgotten in the lapse of time and change of institutions, that Bishops in England, during the plenitude of papal power, had places of close confinement for such of the clergy as had been irreclaimably guilty of criminal offences. ‡ The church asserted an independent right to try and chastise them; and their punishment, if not mortal,

* For the last traces of the system, and the injurious treatment of the sufferers under this feudal tyranny, so late as in the reign of Elizabeth, see Gentleman's Magazine, Oct. 1853, p. 371.

† Pedigree of the Kyrle family. Heath, Excursion down the Wye, p. 21. Heraldry of Herefordshire, G. Strong, Esq. M.D. p. 70.

‡ See p. cvii.

was sometimes pushed to the severest extremity. "We enact," such is the rendering of a constitution of Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, in this century, "that every Bishop have in his episcopate one or two prisons for the confinement of wicked clerks, taken in crime, or convicted according to ecclesiastical censure. And if any clerk shall have been so evil *(malitiosus)* and incorrigible, and accustomed to the commission of the worst offences,* for which even if he were a layman he ought, according to secular laws, to suffer extreme punishment, let such a clerk be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. But towards those who neither voluntarily nor designedly, but accidentally, through anger, or perhaps a fit of passion, shall have offended, we decree the observance of ancient law."† One of these prisons existed under the manor-house at Ross. A gaoler was attached to it, who in the time of Cantilupe suffered his prisoners to escape; and the bond that he gave for better behaviour may be cited as the indisputable source from which this information is derived.

‡ "Be it known to all men, that I, John de Arderne, of the diocese of Hereford, have faithfully promised, and by the presents have bound myself to my lord, the lord Thomas, by the grace of God, Bishop of Hereford, that I will save him and his successors fully harmless in regard to the king of England, as respects the escape of the priests Ralph and Nicholas, whom I some time had in my charge as prisoners of the said my lord, in his manor and prison of Ross, who escaped from the said prison owing to my negligence and default. Which if I shall not perform, I will and grant that the said my lord, his successors, and any ecclesiastical judge or secular bailiff whosoever, whom he or they shall have chosen, may from day to day, without any cognizance of cause,§ on sight of the present letters, me, my executors and my heirs, coerce by sentence of excommunication, and distrain by all my goods moveable and immoveable for forty pounds sterling, on account of debt to be paid to them or any certain attorney of them whomsoever. In witness whereof I have, of mine own free will, affixed my seal to the present letters. Witnesses, Sir Nicholas, the penitentiary, ‖ Master John de Braden-

* *Flagitia.* J. Atho elsewhere, Comm. in Constit. Legat. f. 48 a, n, h, takes a distinction between *flagitium* and *facinus*: *flagitium, delictum flagellis dignum* (*quæ in Deum peccaverimus*), *facinus, quod in hominem.*

† Lyndwood, Provinc. L. IV. Tit. 25. p. 321. *De carceribus Episcoporum, et coercendis clericorum flagitiis. Bonifacius.*

‡ Reg. Swinf. f. 25 a. ‖Pro evasione prisonum apud Ros. § Judicial inquiry?

‖ One who held a stall in the cathedral, called the Bishop's vicarage: he was the Bishop's confessor. Hugh de Breus, the penitentiary, died in the summer of 1293. Reg. Swinf. f. 84 b.

ham,* Sir John de Clare, Waryn le Grendene, Gyrard de Eugina, Richard de Clehangr', and others."†

A relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline, and the consequent disorderly state of the clergy, became once more so monstrous an evil, that under Archbishop Islip, in 1351, another constitution was issued to revive the severities of perpetual imprisonment in the Bishop's gaol. Such criminals were never to return to their former station and employment, but to be kept under a constant and rigorous penance. They were fed scantily upon the coarsest fare, and were denied all access or intercourse of charitable friends; while any hope of being permitted to make purgation was utterly cut off.‡ Their secret subterraneous prison-house at Ross was brought to light when, in September, 1837, some workmen were excavating for the erection of a building on the site of the old episcopal manor-house. At the depth of about seven feet they met with a vaulted chamber strongly constructed in the rock. Its walls were five feet nine inches thick; its interior measurement was sixteen feet in length by twelve in width; its entrance was by an aperture in the roof. On each side was a stone bench the whole length of the room, and in a platform on the floor, against the western wall, measuring six feet eight by three feet ten inches, were inserted six huge rings, the purport of which could not be mistaken.§ They were manifestly intended to receive the chain by which each several prisoner was attached to them. Had this prison existed in the thirteenth in the same state in which it was discovered in the nineteenth century, and had Ralph and Nicholas been so secured as these appliances would have secured them, nothing but the grossest negligence or connivance on the part of Arderne could have established the possibility of their escape.

It has been shewn (p. lxxv.) how the woods that on the east form the background of the charming landscape in which Ross is placed, were subject to wholesale as well as petty depredators. Woodlands near towns are ever infested by indigent pilferers of fuel; but rights had been here asserted

* Seneschal to Cantilupe. Reg. Cant. f. 3.

† The article bears no date, and though it relates to Cantilupe's time is inserted in Swinfield's register, after one which is dated March 5, 1283.

‡ Collier, III. 112.

§ One of these rings, with the lead by which it was soldered into the stone, in the possession of the editor, weighs seventy-two pounds.

and exercised in time past which the present lord of the manor had not been disposed to concede. In 1288 we find him examining and setting aside a doubtful grant from Giles,* one of his predecessors, to a Walter de Gosebrok, sometime woodward, and his heirs, of a virgate of land, with windfall of timber, chips, bark and offal, during fallages. The writing produced as a warrant was considered to bear marks of forgery, and was rejected by the Bishop and his chapter.† Another claimant of the same kind, but of minor pretensions, was also set aside. He demanded pannage, and the annual felling and conversion of a tree into charcoal. His name was Walter de Motun, or Multon (Mutton), and the copyist of the quit-claim, admitting the abandonment of this right, has sarcastically marked his derision of this person by delineating on the edge of the folio in the register wherein it is entered, the head and fore-quarters of a sheep in a ridiculous attitude; an occasional mode of marginal reference, serious or jocose, that is well known to have been employed by the penmen of the time.‡ These woods of Penyard and the Chase, with the parks of Penyard and Upton-bishop—the latter between Ross and Newent—though no hunting in any of them finds a place in the Roll, were nurseries of venison; and lying as they did on the verge of the royal forest of Dean, their limits were watched, like those of the Chase at Malvern, with equal jealousy on either side. The extent to which this was carried, and how tenacious the parties were as to the capture of game, may be understood from the minutes of an inquest held upon a stag that had been chased and killed under debateable circumstances not very long before.

§ "‖Item, be it remembered that when the lord Bishop was at Ross, on the Monday next before the feast of Saint Matthew the Apostle, in the year of our Lord 1286, his huntsman with some of his men coursed there in his Chase in Penyard, and there caught a young stag. And whereas there had been a dispute between the said huntsmen and the foresters of the king about the stag himself, and the place in which he had been caught, an inquest was held thereupon, a copy of which is contained below.

"An inquest held at Hownall,‖ on the Thursday next before the feast of Saint Mat-

* De Bruse or Braos. He died in 1215.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 64 a.

‡ Reg. Swinf. ff. 139 a, 164 b.

§ Inquisitio de cervo de Ros. Reg. Swinf. f. 37 a.

‖ Hownall is between Ross and Michel Dean. These notes are loosely and imperfectly expressed in the original, and merely contain the substance of the inquiry.

thew, in the 14th year of the reign of King Edward. In primis, Walford, Coughton, Bicknor, Ruardean, Hope Mansell, Longhope, Eccleswall, Dean;* and out of them twelve lawful men being chosen and examined by Grimbald Pauncevot and the verderer, and other servants and jurors of the forest, whether that stag on which the inquest is held was caught within the forest or not, all the men sworn and examined declared upon oath that he was caught without the forest, where the Chase of the lord Bishop was always wont to be; and the country people and the twelve agreed in all things. Whereupon Grimbald asked who were at the hunting of that beast? and the country people said they knew not: but the foresters said, W. de Chevening, and the huntsman, N. the carter, and I. de Herleẏ." (John de Earley.)

These traits connected with the Bishop and his manor are not without interest as to persons, time, and place, though they are but imperfect contributions towards a portraiture of Ross, its inhabitants and environs, in the reign of Edward the First.

On Thursday, March 17, the Bishop admitted Nicholas de Gloucestria, priest, to the perpetual vicarage of the church of Tudeham [Tidenham], on the presentation of the abbat and convent of Lyra.† The churches visited since he left Ledbury were in the deaneries of the Forest and Ross.

Saturday was the day of departure from Ross, and arrival at MONMOUTH. No traces of reception or visitation, gifts or procuration, attend them in this town. Neither prior nor vicar find a place on the Roll. Richard de Stretton had been presented to the vicarage Oct. 22, 1288, by the prior and convent of Monmouth, who held the appropriation of it.‡ Straitened means, or some less worthy cause, made them unwilling to bear the dues of their appropriated churches elsewhere, throughout the neighbouring diocese of Llandaff, and their vicars were commanded so to do by the Bishop of that see. This had happened in the year 1254.§

Here commenced the visitation of IRCHINFIELD [*Yrchinefeud*],‖ a district from which a rural deanery was named. It constituted only a fragment of that country which was called *Ergin* under the princes of old.

* The names of places to which summons were sent have been changed to the modern spelling, but stand thus in the MS. *Hulde Cnolle, Cocton, Heckenore, Ruaarden, Hope Maloysel.* The whole are in the vicinity of Ross; and if the stag passed through them, in his flight, he must have run a long ring through the country.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 64 b.

‡ Id. f. 55 b.

§ Madox, Formul. Anglic. p. 7.

‖ Roll, p. 67.

The deanery contained twenty-four churches,* but the visitor took only the lower part of it, on the edge of Monmouthshire, in his course this year. Irchinfield lies in the southern quarter of the county of Hereford; too little hitherto noticed by the antiquary and historian, but replete with interest to those who are acquainted with its notable claims to attention. It is a region small in extent, reduced from its former dimensions prior to the Norman conquest; but physically formed for independence and resistance, where even of late rock and river have opposed unusual obstacles to the engineer in the formation of his iron road. Covered originally with forests throughout its undulated surface, and penetrable only by British trackways, it lay long as an outpost between two adverse nations. In the reign of Edward the Confessor it was inhabited by a population half Welsh, half Saxon, governed by laws and customs peculiarly their own. Thus the Norman conqueror found them, recorded them in his survey, and permitted them to remain, as a race whom it was more advisable to conciliate than provoke; for they claimed the privilege of forming the van of the royal army in its advance into Wales, and the rear when it retired. Among them murder was commuted by a fine, and the relatives of the deceased were allowed a time to avenge the outrage with fire and sword; and in their forays the king shared a third of the spoil. He maintained three resident priests there, who bore his messages, in peace and war, to the wild chieftains of the principality. In many of their usages they long continued closely allied to the Welsh; that language was spoken partially by the natives to a much later period, and parishes, and dwellings, and families, still retain their Cambrian names. Whenever they found a place in the English national records, for several centuries the entry was always *Irchinfield in Wallia*. In the reigns of Hen. III. and Edw. I. the whole community held *in capite*, by serjeantry of furnishing fifty men, on summons, for fifteen days, once in the year, when the king led his army into Wales.† But their private inheritances were regulated by the law of gavelkind, and this, though long since statutably abolished, is maintained with a tenacity that has defied time and its changes, and prevails throughout the country in which the writer is recording it at the passing hour. It may be

* According to the Taxation. Garway is not styled a church in that Survey, though it is so called in the Roll.

† Testa de Nevill, pp. 66, 71.

thought that more than enough has been adduced respecting the civil character of Irchinfield, since our concern is rather with its ecclesiastical condition; but the subject is altogether too curious to be passed over unnoticed, demands a direct treatise rather than a transient allusion, and merits to be discussed in an ampler form than any in which it has yet appeared, and by a better instructed pen.

If any credit be due to the evidence of earliest accounts and local traditionary vestiges, it need never be doubted that Irchinfield was converted to the Christian faith so far back as the time of St. Dubricius, whom the Welsh antiquaries place, as Archbishop of Caerlleon and Bishop of Llandaff, at the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries;* and though the irruption and fusion of Pagan Saxons† among them might subsequently, and for a season, have obscured the light of the gospel in these parts, it was probably rekindled by missionaries from Caerlleon, or St. David's, or Llandaff. Churches were founded or restored; a great portion of Irchinfield was subject to the latter see, and many of the princes assigned lands towards the maintenance of it; the names of saints to which some of these churches were dedicated, announce their Cambrian origin.‡ In the twelfth century—how it occurred has not been satisfactorily explained—the alienation and annexation of some of them to the see of Hereford, and of others to the see of St. David's, in the times of Popes Honorius II. and Innocent II. had occasioned an appeal to Rome, and the affair was to have been settled by judicial process, which, owing to the death of Bishop

* Liber Landav. p. 623.

† They are said to have destroyed the establishment of priests or scholars founded by St. Dubritius at the Weeg, on the Wye. (Iolo MSS. p. 526.) This seems to be the same with that which existed at Llanfrother, in the parish of Hentlan, where the memory of the house and its founder is preserved. A curious custom of the peasantry springs probably from this or some still remoter age. The twelve fires on the eve of Twelfth day, kindled with great rejoicing before a pole wrapped up in straw, called *the old woman*, in a field that has been sowed with grain, are supposed to be the remains of some heathen ceremony derived from the Romans or Saxons, allusive to Ceres and the months, but afterwards adapted to a holiday season of the Christian year. This practice, retained from time immemorial, and not totally discontinued, is, however, now in the wane.

‡ Great numbers of these churches were consecrated by Bishop Herwald, in the reigns of Edward the Confessor, Harold, and William I. Lib. Landav. p. 546, et seq.

Urban of Llandaff, the plaintiff in the cause, an. 1133, on his way to Rome, was set aside, and the whole ended in the permanent retention of the disputed portions by the prelates of Hereford and St. David's.* At the time of which we are treating the services of the secular priests in Irchinfield seem to have been but slenderly rewarded; and it is probable that the influence of the church was not very paramount among the people. Nearly half of the great tithes were appropriated to convents, while the service was performed by vicars; and several of the other incumbencies were so poor that the holders were excused from the approaching taxation.† The country, indeed, in some of the hilly parts, was waste and barren, and the climate cold;‡ as to the parish of Orcop, such was its spiritual destitution that, during Orleton's episcopate, a complaint preferred to him set forth, that the sick departed this life without the sacraments.§ In the same century in which they were claimed by the Bishop of Hereford it may be perceived that religion had not changed their hereditary border habits, nor implanted in them such a dread of the censure of the church as to restrain them from plunder, when an accessible booty was before them. Taking advantage of the disorder of the kingdom, or embracing a political side, some time between the years 1139 and 1148, they crossed the Wye near Ross and attacked and rifled a manor of the Abbat of Gloucester, who thus implores Robert de Betun, the Bishop of Hereford, to interfere in his behalf: "We intreat your holiness to shew us justice against the Welsh of Harchenefeld, Idel, and Kenedin, and their accomplices, for they avenge their injuries upon us, who have not deserved it;

* The Liber Landavensis terminates with several bulls of Urban II. relative to this controversy. The result is shown in the dimensions of the dioceses ever since: the cause is rather obscurely hinted at, in the phrase *per infirmitatem suam et discordiam*, alluding to Herwald, the predecessor of Urban, p. 266.

† The rector of Tretire was lowest upon the list: his annual income did not amount to three pounds. Tax. P. Nichol. p. 160 b.

‡ A survey in the reign of Edw. III. states that six carucates of land were lying uncultivated in Saint Weonard's on account of the poverty of the parishioners. Inquisit. Nonarum, p. 150.

§ The complaint was against the convent of Llantony the first, which held the appropriation, and neglected to put in *vicarium idoneum seu presbyterum sufficientem*. Reg. Orleton, f. 17 b.

and whereas we have never done them harm, they have inflicted upon us a damage of more than sixty marks; and at one swoop and inroad have carried off the whole of what we have long been employed in taking pains to do at Brampton.* We hope that you will consider our losses and inconvenience as your own; and that the aid which you refuse to none who justly ask it, you will not deny to the just intreaty of your sons."† The monks in the borders, here and elsewhere, at Kilpeck, Ewyas Harold, Lantony, and Clifford, complained of the rude and intrusive manners of the Welsh, how irksome and insecure it was to live among them; how difficult and dangerous it was to deny them any thing that they demanded; and how they interfered with their comfort and peace. It was this that broke up the establishment at Lantony, in the vale of Ewyas, and transferred greater part of the inmates to the second house of that name, near Gloucester. Upon a like plea, in part, those of the minor houses of Ewyas Harold, and Kilpeck, were ultimately discontinued; and with consent of the founders' families, and the diocesans of Saint David's and Hereford, and their respective chapters, the priors and their attendants were transferred to the abbey of Saint Peter at Gloucester, to which these priories were cells.‡ The Bishop of Hereford had no manorial residence to go to in Irchinfield, but received some rents that had formerly been paid to the crown. These he had in the reign of Edward I.; and from that of Edward III. to Elizabeth there

* Brampton Abbats, to the north of Ross, given to the abbey of Gloucester by William the Conqueror. In his charter to them it is called *Manerium meum de Brompton cum piscaria in Waya, cum terra usque ad ripam Wayæ.* MS. Registr. dom. Walteri Froucester, Abbat. Glouc. f. 18. MSS. Archdeacon Furney.

† Gilberti Foliot, Abbat. Glouc. Epistolæ, a Giles, I. 81. 8°. Oxon. 1845.

‡ The little establishment of Ewyas Harold was discontinued about 1359, *propter loci inquietudinem et populi circumvicini infestam inquietationem et inquietam infestationem.* Appropriatio et Incorporatio Ep. Menev. de Prior. de Ewyas in Exempl. Cartul. Prioratus, p. 190. That of Kilpeck in 1426, *propter loci ipsius inquietationem populique solitam infestationem*, as well as on account of *excessivus concursus populi ad eorum mensam.* Reg. Th. Spofford, Ep. Heref. f. 120 a. Clifford priory in 1331, petitioning for the appropriation of Dorston, among other motives, alleges its losses *propter hostiles incursus*, and that it is so situated *in inferioribus partibus Marchiæ Walliæ, ubi quotidie multitudo confluit Wallicorum, quibus hospitalitas nequit absque periculis gravibus denegari.* Reg. Chorleton, Ep. Heref. f. 3 a. The story of the removal of the monks from Lantony may be seen in Angl. Sacra, II. 312, and in Dugdale.

were eleven vills that owed him suit from month to month at the palace in Hereford, and these too lay within the lordship of Irchinfield. His itinerant bailiff, as he was termed, collected fines and payments of court in thirty suits here and in the marches of Wales.*

A short journey of about ten modern miles northward from Monmouth, through a difficult and hilly country, brought them to alight at MONKTON, March 20. This was, as its title imports, a house upon a conventual property belonging to the prior and brethren of Lantony the first, in the parish of LLANWARNE, of which church they were patrons. The case of this rectory is somewhat singular. In the registers both of Cantilupe and Swinfield the incumbent is described as a portionist, a word that obviously implies one who shares in office, or the profits of it, with others, and this expression may be readily understood where more than one were concerned; but here we have only an individual. Several associated portionists are mentioned in the diocese. At Ledbury there were two, at Bromyard three,† and more might be enumerated in Salop. These have been held to be the remnant of collegiate establishments,‡ parochial, or perhaps before the division of parishes, offsets from the principal episcopal station, where priests abode together as a fraternity, officiating in their several chapels, going forth to their departments of duty among a rural population, and sharing in the ecclesiastical emoluments of their district. Llanwarne seems to have been formerly a foundation of this kind, the number of priests being reduced by its patrons to a single rector. Once it had chapels attached to it, of which the memory is lost.§ It had great claim to antiquity. "Cadwyth, son of Coffro, sacrificed to God, and to Saint Dubricius, Saint Teilo, and Saint Oudoceus, and in the hand of Bishop Trychan and all the pastors of Llandaff without end, with the

* Butterfield MS. 212 b, 236 a. It was pleaded in 20 Edw. I. that the Bishops of Hereford had certain manorial rights in Monkton and Llanwarne from time immemorial, and that some addition had been made to them in the time of Bishop Peter (Aquablanca?). Plac. de quo Warr. p. 270 b.

† Tax. P. Nichol. p. 160 a, b. ‡ Blakeway and Owen, Hist. Shrewsb. II. 9, 10.

§ Three rectors held successively the portion in this church with the chapels thereto pertaining, between the years 1275 and 1308. Master Hugh de Redclive, Master Richard de Folebrugge, and Richard de Bosebury, priest. Reg. Cantil. ff. 10 b, 11 a. Swinf. f. 163 a.

approbation and consent of King Ffernwael, in perpetual consecration of the cross of Christ, three modii of land, or the fourth part of an uncia (about 27 acres), being the church of Henlennic, on the banks of the Amyr (Gamber), that is Lann Guern, with its liberty, and with all commonage in field and in woods, in water and in pastures." Such is the simple language of its endowment, about the early part of the seventh century. It afterwards appears in the numerous list of those which were consecrated by Bishop Herwald under William the Conqueror, and the last of the Saxon kings.*

Swinfield lost no time in visiting this church, and was entertained at the prior's table at Monkton by special invitation. Kemeseye, careful in marking the difference between gratuitous and official reception, describes his having been asked to partake of this hospitality on the part of the patron, though he had visited the church *(fuit ad rogatum, licet dominus ipsa die visitavit ecclesiam)*. The nice distinction seems to intimate a liability in the incumbent, which in this case was shifted to his patron. Sometimes the one and sometimes the other take charge of the visitor; but the difference between claim and courtesy is never lost sight of throughout the Roll.† During the few hours that the Bishop remained at Monkton the taste and custom of the country brought two minstrels into his presence, rural performers, no doubt, as they were rewarded each with only one penny. ‡ But it shews that their greeting was well received, and strengthens the belief in the continued existence and encouragement of this class of persons in the border-land, rather than in their supposed entire abolition in consequence of the ordinance of Edward I. which refers to the whole of Wales. § Bards, rhymers, and vagabond minstrels, were now less formidable in the south than they had been in the north of the principality, or indeed than they had been any where: the harp and its itinerant professors still survived; and it

* Lib. Landav. pp. 453, 547.

† But the fact of the actual liability, with its reason, is not distinctly or consistently shewn, and seems to have depended much on locally established custom, the origin of which cannot now be reached. Vicars seem in general to be exempt. In the number of religious houses upon which it was thrown may be seen the injurious extent of appropriations in abstracting the due maintenance of the secular working clergy.

‡ Dors. ‖33, p. 152.

§ Leges Wallicæ, App. V. VI. fol. Lond. 1730. See Blakeway and Owen, I. 145.

has disappeared only within the memory of man from the festivities of what was once called IRCHINFIELD IN WALLIA.

On the morrow they went to GARWAY, described as a church in the Roll, but not recognised as such in the Taxation; yet Swinfield visited it, and received procuration from some party whose name does not appear. King Henry II. granted his estate of Lange Carewey * to the Knights Templars: it was one of their preceptories, and they were lords of a considerable tract of land.† These privileged proprietors admitted no episcopal interference with their establishment, and were amenable to no rules or visitors but their own; and though, as a body—it has been shewn in the case at Upleden—they did not meddle with secular priests when their preceptories were in parishes that were under the superintendence of the diocesan,‡ they maintained by the constitutions of their order, and the bull "Omne datum optimum," one of their brethren as resident priest at every such preceptory, to minister in sacraments and sacramentals to them and their dependents. He seems to have acted as parish priest at Garway. To have planted a house of these soldiers of the cross in such a remote and uncivilised spot, where some of their members were always bound to reside, was perhaps, politically, no unwise measure. If well conducted they might have proved some check upon the rude natives, and enforced order and obedience to law, with this supposable drawback, that their sanctuary, while it commanded respect, might afford some temptation to acts of violence. Upon the whole it may be inferred that, though the Bishop visited Garway as a church, and procuration was conceded to him, and those after him, while the dominion of the Templars lasted, which he lived to see at an end, it was in an ecclesiastical sense a "peculiar," and the officiating clerk a chaplain of the order.

* i. e. Llan Garway. Dugd. Monastic. VI. p. ii. 838.

† Two folio volumes are extant in the Knights' library at Malta, relating to the estates of those of the English *langue*. The principal officers of each nation are said to have carried off all their respective muniments when Valetta fell into the hands of the French in 1797; but these remained, and contain a survey of Garway, Upleden, Harewood, and other estates, then in possession of the Hospitallers, taken by order of brother Philip de Thame in 1338. The editor derived this information from the British Magazine, vol. V. p. 29; and is glad now to be informed that this record will be printed for the Camden Society, under the editorship of the Rev. Lambert B. Larking.

‡ See note, p. cxvii.

When the unfortunate brotherhood were suppressed, and were succeeded here by the Hospitallers, Garway was let, in lapse of time, to tenants, subject to the condition of their maintaining a chaplain: the diocesan continued to visit; and the church was one of those at which several smaller churches were summoned to attend; till on March 13, 1506, when Bishop Mayhew came in the course of his triennial visitation and demanded the procurations due to himself and his predecessors, he was refused by Robert Mynors and Richard Plomer, receivers, officers, and bailiffs of the Lord Prior of Saint John of Jerusalem, as they asserted, "by command and order of the said Lord Prior." That august personage was then at Rhodes; but a process was instituted in the court of the Archbishop against him, and the depositions of the witnesses are still in being.* The result may be gathered from a list of the churches that were chargeable with procurations in the reign of Elizabeth, in which that of Garway is not to be found.†

This prospective discussion must no further disturb the course of our itinerary: on March 22 they left Garway and came to KILPECK. About the latter end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century, as is shewn by the attestation of Griecelis, Bishop of Llandaff, then living, Hanew son of Benjamin gave the church of Saint David of Kilpedec in Ergyng, with its land about it, to God, and to Saint Dubricius and Saint Teilo, in frankalmoign, for ever.‡ A long interval succeeds, in which the lamp of history gives little and uncertain light. Saxons became intermingled with the natives of Irchinfield; Danes invaded, § and Normans

* Reg. Ric. Mayhew, Ep. Heref. f. 7, et seq. In the third article of his charge against the prior, the Bishop thus lays down his right: *Jus visitandi de triennio in triennium singulis annis concurrentibus, et singula loca, monasteria, prioratus, ecclesias parochiales, appropriatas, et non appropriatas, ac earum vicarias perpetuas infra præcinctum, finesque et limites diocesis Herefordensis, ac visitationis officium in eisdem debite et ecclesiastice exercendi, necnon crimina et defectus in hujusmodi visitatione detecta canonice corrigendi, puniendi et reformandi, ac spiritualem jurisdictionem et ecclesiasticam in subditos diocesis Herefordensis prædictæ exercendi, necnon ab eisdem rectoribus, proprietariisque, et vicariis ac curatis earundem jura ecclesiastica ecclesiæ Herefordensis ratione visitationis hujusmodi solita et consueta petendi, recipiendi, obtinendi et habendi.*

† Butterfield MS. f. 235 a.

‡ Lib. Landav. pp. 416, 626. The best informed antiquaries have referred to the charters it contains as authentic, and they are accordingly cited without hesitation.

§ Little can be learned of the condition of Irchinfield when the Danes were masters of England. They ravaged it in 918, carrying off Cameleac, Bishop of Llandaff, whom

shared the land. Then, in 1134, Hugh, son of William, lord of Kilpeck, and forester of the King, gave the church of Kilpeck, with the chapel of Saint Mary of the castle, together with all churches and chapels, and the lands to them pertaining, to the abbey of Saint Peter in Gloucester.* This is the imperfect account derived from their own muniments of the foundation of the priory. It has hitherto eluded research whether to William or Hugh his son, or to which of its subsequent patrons in Gloucester, posterity has been indebted for that rare miniature specimen of Norman ecclesiastical architecture in the church, that has for centuries decorated this lonely place. Long almost unnoticed and unknown, since the revival of genuine feeling for mediæval art, it has won the admiration of all who are able to appreciate its merits, by the simplicity of its design, the richness of its rude decorations, and the solemnity of its interior effect.† It is no less difficult to determine whether by the church of St. David,‡ which Hugh gave to the monks of Gloucester, be signified the parochial or the conventual church belonging to the priory, and seated at a small distance from it; perhaps the building was employed for both purposes, and it is certain that, when the brethren were removed to Gloucester, the cure of the parish was committed to a secular chaplain in their stead. That must have been a stately castle beside the church, as its ample mound and foundations shew. Sir Alan de Plugenet, now the lord of this and of the manor, and of many other manors in the counties of Berks, Oxon, Somerset, Wilts, Surrey, and Dorset,§ was a knight of such reputation, so highly esteemed by his sovereign, that he appointed him assistant to the Prince Regent during his own absence from the kingdom.‖ Forty-one free tenants held under him, as he of the King, and did suit at the castle from quindene to quindene. At the head of these was Robert le Petyt, named in the margin of the Roll.¶

they found or pursued there. Angl. Sax. Chron. in a. 918. It suffered also severely in the reign of the Confessor from the incursion of the Welsh under Griffin and Blein. Domesday, f. 181.

* Chron. of Glouc. Abbey, in Walter de Lacy, Abbat.

† See Lewis, Illustrations of Kilpeck Church. London, 1842.

‡ In the register of Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford, f. 122 a, it is styled *capella seu ecclesia.*

§ Cal. Inquis. post Mortem, p. 151. ‖ Dugdale, Baron. II. 3 b, 4 a.

¶ P. 66. A Robert of this family was one of those who went out upon knight-service under Cantilupe, when Edward I. held a muster in 1277 at Worcester to go against

When Swinfield passed this way his purveyor had brought him enough for his table;* but the prior and Le Petyt provided for his stud. The former afforded him no more than brushwood and litter; the other made up the deficiency of corn and hay. Though this place was in the heart of a remote country, King John in his wanderings had several times resorted to it.† Having finished his progress through this deanery, the Bishop crossed the flat valley of the Worm, and entering into the Golden Vale, arrived at

DORE, March 23.

On the bank of a little river from which it took its name stood Abbey Dore, a famous house of Cistertians, founded by Robert de Ewyas in the year 1147, and within the parish of Bacton, of which church they were the patrons, and held the appropriation. This abbey was subject to the diocesan jurisdiction of Hereford, though upon the verge of that of Saint David's; and it was so near a point to which of the two it belonged, that, in 1284, the latter Bishop assumed authority over them. The attempt aroused them to a thorough exposition of the true state of the question, which they laid before a general chapter. Their appeal proved successful; and they continued under the see of Hereford as they had hitherto ever been from their foundation.‡ The church of the monastery was built about the year 1260,§ and dedicated to the blessed Virgin; and the site of the whole was in all respects truly Cistertian. A writer of the preceding century,

Llywelyn. Reg. Swinf. f. 22 b. There was also a Thomas le Petit, who held by knight-service. See APP. No. XV.

* The expression, Roll, p. 67, *in victualibus deducendis in Yrchinefeud*, seems to apply to this spot.

† In 1211—13—14. Itinerary in Descr. of Pat. Rolls. Hardy, 8vo. 1835.

‡ APP. No. XXIII. Among other curious matters contained in this instrument a fact is established that was unknown to the parties who were most concerned to know and record it, at the time when John, Lord Viscount Scudamore, of Hom-Lacy, munificently erected Dore into a parish, repaired the dilapidated church of the monastery, and endowed the living in 1634. Gibson, View of the Ancient and Present State of Dore, &c. London, small 4to. 1727, pp. 38, 197, et seq. Neither that nobleman, nor Sir John Hoskyns, of Morehampton, who was much interested in the inquiry, on account of a tithe cause, nor after them the historian of Dore, in short no investigators, from Leland down to the learned editors of Dugdale, have been aware that the abbey had been built in the parish of Bacton.

§ Under Bishop Aquablanca, who issued a hortatory letter for contributions to it. Gibson, p. 188.

who was no friend to the order, has noted certain particulars which influenced their choice of situations; his expressions may fairly be extracted without touching upon the sarcasms that accompany them: "locum ad habitandum habilem eligunt, fœcundum, responsalem frugibus, non inaptum seminibus, septum nemoribus, scaturientem fontibus, cornucopiam, locum extra mundum."* This description finds an exemplification in the account that Camden has given of the *Gilden Vale*. "Which name it may well be thought to deserve for its golden, rich, and pleasant fertility. For the hills that encompass it on both sides are clothed with woods; under the woods lie corn-fields on each hand; and under those fields lovely and fruitful meadows. In the middle, between them, glides a clear and crystal river, upon which Robert Earl of Ewias erected a beautiful monastery, wherein very many of the nobility and gentry of those parts were buried."† Within these walls the diocesan was habitually welcome, whether he came to visit their parish church or their house; their head invited him, as he was wont to do *(ut consuevit)*, and in return, as we have seen of the abbat of Reading at Ledbury, p. cxxiii, he of Dore, when he went to Hereford in July ensuing, was duly attended to, though Swinfield was not there to receive him. ‡

With respect to the disposition entertained in monasteries towards their guests, whether friends or strangers, it is well known how ready they were, according to their power, and often beyond their power, to give them honourable and hospitable reception. It was their rule; and their delight was to observe it. Their chroniclers exult in referring to it. But it was not unfrequently attended with the disadvantage of leading them into heavier expenses than they could bear, when their houses stood in towns or places of great resort near public roads; and this exposed them to the temptation of seeking appropriations of their churches, and appointing ill-paid vicars to undertake such cures. As to the hospitality of Dore towards these travellers, unless indeed the fraternity were in debt, there could be no excuse for neglecting, nor any particular merit in fulfilling, a task which they were so competent to discharge. The causes that, without discredit, might have checked the little priory at Kilpeck, could find no

* Gualt. Mapes, De Nugis Curial. Camd. Soc. ed. p. 39.
† Camden, Brit. ed. Gibson, I. col. 686.
‡ Dors. ‖39 c. 192 p.

place at Dore. Their bursar held in hand a rental in tithes, temporals, and moveables (animals), in this diocese, and those of Saint David's and Llandaff, ascending at the most moderate computation to an amount, enviable in those days, of £170 per annum. Their patrons had been munificent. King John, in the fourth year of his reign, by a few effective lines of one small charter, assigned to them five hundred acres of land in his neighbouring forest of Treville, to deal with at their pleasure; and in his eighteenth year he seems to have added to the grant.* In reply to the queries for the often-mentioned taxation, the abbat owned to the annual receipt of rent for forty-two carucates of land, rents of assize in Hereford city, of three mills, a tannery, and several estates described by the occupiers' names; that he had forty cows, and one thousand seven hundred and sixty sheep; and in the time of hay-making he could collect fifty-one waggon-loads for his winter store, forty of which were cut from the meadows of Morehampton, in his grassy vale. All this was drawn from the diocese of Hereford, but did not comprise the largest portion of his resources. It is, however, unnecessary to swell the list,† in proof of his power out of such superfluity to furnish a table and bed for those who were admissible to a traveller's share of refreshment and repose. It falls not within the province of Kemeseye to set before us the provision of any board save that of his master; yet the entertainment, though it was a Lenten, would not be a parsimonious one. The invitation of the superior of the house bespeaks him at home, and it may be apprehended that it was a mark of respect out of the common routine. In a large abbey, like that of Saint Edmundsbury, the duties of hospitality were defined with accuracy, and adjusted to a scale. Of these the abbat had his distinct share. He received all guests of whatever condition, except religious and priests of secular habit, and their attendants. In his absence the cellarer was to provide for them up to thirteen horses; and beyond that number, whether laity or clergy, they came under the care of the abbat's servants. All

* Cart. Antiq. in Turr. Lond. B.B. 14, P.P. 10, 18.

† The whole is given in Tax. P. Nichol. ff. 159 b, 172 a, b, 174, 274 b, 278, 283, 284, and the gross sum, according to their own shewing, should have amounted by fair reckoning to much more. Out of the carucates of land only one is accounted for, and it is the same with respect to the loads of hay. Other religious houses did the same.

religious persons, even bishops, if they were monks, were charged upon the cellarer, unless in the case of some individual whom the abbat was inclined especially to honour.* These particulars of ancient usage, preserved by their own chronicler, form an illustration of monastic observances; but how far they were continued to this time, or employed among this fraternity, cannot be shewn, since we have no transcript of the domestic regulations of Abbey Dore.

Their sojourn ended, on the following morning they put themselves in motion towards Sugwas. Westward of Irchinfield a causeway had been formed by the Romans to lead from Gobannium to Magna Castra: the former of these is the modern Abergavenny, the latter recognisable in certain fields at Kenchester,† near Sugwas, that indicate past all doubt the site of a Roman town by innumerable evidences, produced from time to time, of its occupation by that people. The line of communication between these stations, advancing northward, bore directly upon the right bank of the Wye, which could be passed at a ford near the Wear. But, probably for purposes of traffic and war, that the marching of their legions might not be interrupted by any swelling of the wintry waters, a bridge had been some time thrown over the river at that place. Whether the Bishop and his company travelled along this causeway, or otherwise, the "Stoney Street,"‡ as it was called, was their most immediate road from Dore, and the ford was to be crossed, if the bridge had already disappeared. At any rate our next entries place the family at

SUGWAS from March 24 to 30,

with exception of the ensuing Sunday. On his arrival Swinfield admitted Gilbert de Reygate, clerk, to the church of Dukeshill with the chapel of Mickleton, in the deanery of Stottesdon, at the presentation of the prior and convent of Wenlock.§ This return to Sugwas brings back domestic cares and doings. A brewing of wheat and oats, made into malt by the dairy servant, was ready. It had been managed, as that at Prestbury, by candlelight: the brewers and vessels were hired, and, as before, allowance was made for the grains.

* Chron. Jocel. de Brakelonda, pp. 28, 29. Camd. Ed.

† Duncumb, I. 23 et seq.

‡ See Ordnance Map of Herefordshire.

§ Reg. Swinf. f. 64 b.

On Palm Sunday, introductory to the "Great" or "Holy Week," the people were wont, in commemoration of our Saviour's entry into Jerusalem, to carry in procession branches of the palm or some other tree, and the ministers of the church, at the altar, pronounced a blessing over them. It cannot be supposed that the Bishop, twice resident as he has been some time at Sugwas, so short a distance, should not have been occasionally attendant on the services of his own cathedral; but no precise information offers itself of his being at Hereford for a whole day, unless it be on this Sunday, *Dominica in ramis palmarum;* when of course he was not absent from the solemnity. The form of the diary, that under the head of each place comprehends the day and night, brings him to lodge for once at the palace. His meals were, however, served at the house of the friars minors. The expression *fuit dominus in mensa* * *Herefordiæ cum fratribus minoribus*, as plainly shews that they were honoured by the presence of so distinguished a guest, as the items that follow it describe his having charitably entertained them. His partiality towards them has been noticed;† and the countenance received by them at this season was considerate and opportune, when their adversaries, the Dominicans, were tormenting them at Worcester.‡ The entertainment was, therefore, a generous pittance, gracefully bestowed; though a short time after, at Easter, he remembered them kindly again by sending them another pittance for the feast.§ Their house was near his palace, on the same bank of the river; but to the westward of and not far from the bridge, close by the city wall. Franciscans preferred to settle themselves in such a situation; and often on the outside of the wall, through which they had an entrance of their own into the city.‖ The quantity of ware provided is a feature in the expense of this Sunday; and it is greatly multiplied towards Easter. The Bishop leaves Hereford on Monday, ostensibly, according to the Roll, to return to it no more. The silence of the house-steward is not an absolute negation of his having halted at other times as he passed through; but he gives us no room to understand that Swinfield brake bread or drank wine in his own palace, as a

* For the words *in mensa cum*, signifying his being a guest, see May 3, 24, 27.

† See p. lxiii.

‡ Annal. Wigorn. in anno 1289.

§ Dors. p. 152.

‖ Blakeway and Owen, I. 447.

householder, for many months to come. His hospitalities were reserved for his country residences.

Again at Sugwas on the 28th. The Lenten fast being near its close, their daily consumption of fish would cease; and they drew upon their stock in the pools and from the Wye. Some exertions are made to take salmon at the Wear, and to bring other sorts from a distance; the fishermen of Ross caught and sent pike and bream from their preserves.* On Maundy Thursday they went to LUGWARDINE, a short distance on the road to Ledbury, where Swinfield visited, and appears to have attended vespers in the church. After evening service, according to the ancient rite of the Maundy, bishops were accustomed to renew the memory of that which Christ had done to his disciples at his last supper, *in cœna domini*, by washing the feet of a certain number of poor persons and dismissing them with a gift. We see the gift,† but the action is not recorded. It was, however, most probably not omitted when he distributed thirteen pennies to as many poor.‡

The first instance of disputed procuration on this visitation tour arises at Lugwardine. The rector objected to it; but actually complied, by shifting the demand to an invitation, and thus leaving the question open. This Kemeseye has candidly acknowledged. *Adhuc est inter dominum et rectorem, fuerit illa dicta pro procuratione Domini, vel ad rogatum.* The refusal of the incumbent might not be without just grounds; but we have no room for uncertain conjecture.§ Lugwardine was in many ways remark-

* The author of Fleta shews, ‖20, p. 164, that the Waltons of those days were well acquainted with the necessity of keeping these kinds apart.

† Dors. ‖29 a.

‡ This was the usual sum. The king on this very day relieved by his almoner at Woodstock fifty paupers, to whom he gave a penny a piece. Household Book, 18 Edw. I. Tower.

§ It is laid down as a general axiom of the canon law, that they who could not refuse a visitor could not refuse procuration. Incumbents sometimes pleaded that they did not find that it had been paid to the visitor's predecessor. Yet this was not always available; and the direction as to cases in which it was alleged, *quod ipsi procurationem hactenus non solverunt*, was peremptorily this: *nisi aliud rationabile ostenderint, vos eos ad exhibendum eam, sicut jus dictaverit compellatis.* Gibson, Codex, f. 975.

ably circumstanced. To this church were attached a number of chapelries, on the other side of the Wye, each of them sufficient of itself to form, and since actually forming, a distinct parish, and extending deeply to the south, with some interceptions, across the deanery of Irchinfield to the very edge of Orcop and Garway. They comprised Little Dewchurch, Hentlan, Saint Weonard's, and Llangarren,* with other subordinate chapels, and embraced a large tract of country: an arrangement adopted at some far distant time, when parishes and dioceses were more extensive than individuals could rightly superintend. Its fate as to patrons, as well as that of the manor which it accompanied, was very mutable. Sometimes it had been in the crown, sometimes in the high nobles. Maud, the empress, granted the manor to the Earl of Hereford.† John, in the fifth year of his reign, gave the church, with its chapels, on the resignation of Master Stephen, his chaplain, to John de Wells. Other letters patent immediately followed, giving the perpetual vicarage of it to Master Alardus, on the condition of his annual payment of twenty shillings out of it.‡ But the history of this manor, involving the patronage of the church, with its many revolutions in times nearer to those of which we are treating, comes out in the verdict taken by oath and entered on the Hundred Rolls, 3 Edw. I. "The jury say, that the manor of Lugwardine was wont to be in the hands of King Henry III. and his ancestors of old.§ And the said king gave that manor to Simon de Montfort, to hold for a certain debt in which he was bound to him, who held it for five years and a half. And after the battle of Evesham lord Edward seized that manor into his hand, and held it for half a year; and afterwards surrendered it at Canterbury into the hand of King Henry his father; and the said Henry enfeoffed lord Edmund of it by his charter; and afterwards the said Edmund held it for five years, and then sold it to Robert Waleraund and Matilda his wife. Waleraund had

* Some of these are set down as churches in the Taxation, but the appellation of chapels is continued in records to a much later period.

† Rymer, I. 8.

‡ Rot. Litt. Pat. 38 b. This seems to have been a shuffle to provide for two parties at once out of the living, and saddle it with a pension.

§ The prior of Saint Guthlac, in the city of Hereford, once made an attempt to secure the advowson by instituting a suit against the crown in the court christian, for which he was prosecuted. Prynne, Pap. Usurp. I. 103.

deceased, and Alan de Plugenet, lord of Kilpeck, his nephew and heir, had succeeded him,* and now holds it." So little rest within a few years had the manor of Lugwardine, that the under-tenants must often have been puzzled to know who was likely to have been their lord for a single year.† Not only the rector, but his parishioners, asserted a privilege independent of the Bishop; they complained against his right of taking toll of them at the city gate during the great fair.‡ The rector's resistance to procuration was, however, at some future time overcome, as the living is found in the reign of Elizabeth among those that paid it to the see.§ It is set down in the Taxation ‖ under the deanery of Weston; its annual value ten pounds.

The horses had been newly shod, and the harness and carts repaired, before they quitted Sugwas;¶ for they had to toil through a stiff country ere they could reach the next place of their destination. This, however, they accomplished on Friday, and sat down at

COLWALL from March 31 to April 10.

That Friday, not distinguished in the steward's calendar by the modern epithet "Good," they kept in obedience to rule immemorial as the strictest fast. It is significantly marked by the total omission of quantity against the articles of bread and wine, and by a few fish unconsumed. Much of it was necessarily passed by the household upon the road; on the part of the Bishop it was hallowed by his way-side alms; and surely we may believe that, if Kemeseye's plan of report had been less concise, it might have been added, by the service of the church and prayer.

Colwall was unprovisioned; but a great assemblage of friends and dependents was expected at Easter, and strenuous exertions were used to make ready.** The bailiffs of Sugwas and Bosbury had prepared a brewing in the customary way, with hired casks and helpers, working before break of dawn. Three quarters of wheat and four horseloads of oats were malted

* Dugdale, Baron. II. 2 b, 3 a.

† Its shiftings within a short time did not end here; but the advowson was finally fixed by Joanna de Bohun in the church of Hereford.

‡ Rot. Hundr. 3 Edw. I.

§ Butterfield MS. f. 233 a.

‖ F. 150 b.

¶ Roll, March 28. Dors. ‖29 a.

** The following particulars will be found scattered throughout the Roll from March 31 to April 9.

at Sugwas and brought to Bosbury, where they were ground, and toll was paid. The brewing too seems to have been managed there; for a cooper was sent over from Colwall to put the vessels in order, and was employed upon them for ten days at two pence per day. Hereford and Worcester contributed materials for the approaching feast; the baker and cook were busy; the latter made a journey to Worcester. Abundance of additional cups, dishes, and plates, had been provided. Bosbury, the great depository, was most liberal from its resources of wine and salted stores. Seventy horses in the stable on Easter eve announce the arrival of guests, and the same number continue on the Easter day. At the offertory the Bishop gave 4*s.* 1*d.* for himself and family.* The festive Paschal doings of the whole well-fasted party cannot be more emphatically described than by a translated copy of the simple list of solid and other viands that were delivered from the kitchen and vanished from the board. With clean linen,† and hungry stomachs, they sat down to it, and what they found and what they left at their three meals is as follows:

‖At the same place.‡ ‖On Easter day. Bread. Eleven sextaries of Bosbury wine. Beer, already accounted for. Item, two carcasses and a half of salt beef from the Bosbury larder. One bacon from the same. One boar from the household stock, though not sound, already accounted for. In one live ox from Ledbury, 16*s.* In one carcass of fresh beef, by Baseville, 10*s.* 10*d.* In three pigs, 5*s.* 3*d.* In six calves, 9*s.* 2*d.* In nine kids, by Baseville, 3*s.* 2½*d.* Item, in twelve kids, by the bailiff of Eastnor, 5*s.* In six capons, 12*d.* In eighty pigeons, by Baseville, 19*d.* In sixty-eight pigeons, from the Bosbury manor, 17*d.* Item, two pigs, one boar, six capons, six kids, presents. Out of these remain one carcass, one quarter of fresh beef, three pigs, one calf and a half, five kids, sixty pigeons. Item, three fat deer from the store. In four thousand eggs, 3*s.* 8*d.* In milk, by Baseville, 3*d.* In cheese, 12½*d.* In flour, 6*d.* In suet, 2*s.* 6*d.* In three bushels of salt, 16*d.* Hay from the manor for seventy horses. In their feed four quarters seven bushels of oats, already accounted for.

The sum 62*s.* 9*d.*§

So much for the first release from Lenten diet. Another opportunity of feasting came on in the ensuing week, and was followed up with equal ardour.

Had the manor-house‖ at Colwall belonged to a layman, it might have

* Dors. ‖48.
† Id. ‖29 a.
‡ *i. e.* Colwall.
§ Roll, p. 71.
‖ The farm-house north of the church continues to be called the Palace, but presents

been appropriately termed his hunting-seat; for it stood conveniently near the centre of the manors in this quarter that harboured my lord's "great game,"* and was surrounded by what is still denominated a park. The limits of that which may have been its inclosure are partly visible; and in some fields on a rough level, not long ago, might be seen the ruins of one or two stag-headed oaks in the last stage of decay, the remnants of a greater store. The editor candidly avows, at the hazard of appearing imaginative, that, bearing in mind the contents of the Roll, the sight of these inanimate emblems of the "high-palmed heads," that once took shelter beneath their shade, described by the poet as

> The best of chase, the tall and lusty red,
> Fittest to hunt at force,†

recalled to his thoughts the days when Adam the marshal, and John the huntsman, made the park below and the banks of Malvern above echo to the shouts of their companions,‡ the cry of their master's hounds, and the blast of their horns. It was not now the legitimate time for taking venison. The doe-season was past, and had been succeeded by the interval lasting from Candlemas to Midsummer, in which the forest laws forbade the slaughtering of deer. But chases not being subject to those laws,§ the proprietors would probably assume the right of dealing with their own in their own way. Fresh venison, it seems, such as it was, might and must be had; the huntsmen went out and brought back a brace of some sort on Thursday in this Easter week, April 4, which, lean as they proved, and might be expected to be from the chase, were incontinently cooked and devoured. *(ij. bestiæ macræ de chacia expensæ.)*

nothing remarkable either in feature or material to justify the appellation. It is a timber-house, reared upon a stone base, probably part of a more ancient building. In the framework of the windows, both on the ground floor and first story, are at each side two small holes, through which it is traditionally said they shot the deer. This, if it were really the case, would have been after the invention of fire-arms.

* So called in a lease granted 4 Eliz. to John Knottsford, of Much Malvern, co. Worcester, Esq. "All and all manner his great game, deare and deares." Butterfield MS. f. 103 b.

† Drayton, Polyolbion, 13th Song. *At force* is a phrase used by our forefathers to express the hard running down of the deer, in opposition to any other mode of capturing them. Lord Surrey employs it in his Poem descriptive of Windsor.

‡ Roll, Nov. 2. § Manwood, p. 49.

April 5, the Bishop instituted Sir John de Vaucouleurs, priest, as rector in the church of Ludlow, having previously admitted him to the same by his proctor at Prestbury, on the 9th of the kalends of May, 1289, his patron being Sir Peter de Gyenvile, to whom the presentation for that turn belonged.*

The Roll is silent as to any act of visitation at Colwall. The living was in the rural deanery of Frome, and in the gift of the Bishop; its annual value was £10.† Existing incumbents are not always to be traced with certainty; but John de Clare, one highly esteemed by Cantilupe, employed by him in affairs of importance, and commended by him as "our beloved clerk, and familiar friend," was instituted to it, April 19, 1280.‡

In this pause between the temporary cessation and active re-commencement of diocesan business, the Endorsement contributes a few particulars of what was going on in various ways and quarters. The Bishop continues his kindness in Easter pittances to mendicant friars, the Minors of Bridgnorth and Augustinians of Ludlow; and he again notices a poor scholar while at Colwall, perhaps the same that he had once before patronised at Ledbury.§ It will be remembered that of his servants all were not with him who were in his chief confidence. Of late the name of Thomas de la Dane has not appeared among them; but he was not the less diligent elsewhere in the service of his lord. John de Swinfield, Archdeacon of Salop, was now studying in France; and Thomas, about Easter, has been in London, paying into the hands of the merchant-bankers £13. 6*s*. 8*d*. to be remitted by them to Paris for the use of the archdeacon, and Ruwardyn, a messenger, is sent to Orleans with four shillings in his purse to bear the expenses of his passage and journey. De la Dane had been a long while attending to the improvement and cultivation of land at Womenswould, that the Bishop had bought of Stephen de la feld, and paid for while he was at

* Reg. Swinf. f. 63 b. The high families of de Verdun and de Genevile (or Joinville) shared between them the patronage of the church of Ludlow. Peter was nephew of Sir John, the author of the celebrated life of Saint Louis, whom he accompanied in his crusade. Geoffry, father of Peter, and great-uncle of this rector, was called Joinville de Vaucouleurs to distinguish him from the crusader. Clive, Documents connected with the Hist. of Ludlow. 8vo. 1841, pp. 32, 34. In a charter granted to the monks of Dore he styles himself *Dominus de Vaucoleurs*. Lib. Niger de Wigmore, f. 282 a.

† Tax. P. Nichol. p. 160 b. ‡ Reg. Cantil. 65 b, 71 b. § Dors. ‖31, 33.

Ledbury, on the second week in Lent.* He now goes on to Northleach, and once more returns into Kent. As spring advanced, the attention of bailiffs and overseers would be drawn to the condition of the stock upon the farms. Two persons, John of Wormesley and W. Kyde, were visitors and inspectors of sheep. At Montgomery and Bromfield (or Bromyard, † from the down there,) they bought a flock of 208 ewes and lambs: those that came from Wales were driven up by Adam Harpin and the shepherds, and were transferred to the sheep-walks at Ledbury and Eastnor, for change of pasture; it was a general practice to draw out all the ewes that were to be sold, and to shear them between Easter and Whitsuntide.‡ Transition from affairs of a sheepcote to those of a throne is wide and extreme, but we have no intermediate stepping-stones. An event in which the Bishop was interested was the arrival of the King at Woodstock in the Easter week to hold another parliament. Since the first broke up in February he had been rambling about Berks, Wilts, and the counties of Gloucester and Worcester, inquiring into abuses and remedying them, settling disputes among churchmen, and punishing offenders against the forest-laws. In the beginning of March he sent a favourite falcon for cure to the tomb of Cantilupe in Hereford cathedral.§ At Feckenham, in Worcestershire, the foresters and other trespassers, while he was away in France, had offended so seriously that he held a court of inquiry, March 24, for their trial and conviction; and some he punished by imprisonment, and some he fined. On April 2, he admitted all the latter to bail to appear at Woodstock by the fifth of that month in Easter week, and there he fixed their fines. They were upwards of twenty in all; and it might be thought somewhat strange that among these delinquents should be discovered the Bishop and the prior of Worcester, transgressors and trespassers on vert and venison in the said forest, unless upon the principle, *qui facit per alium, facit per se.* The Bishop paid one hundred, the prior two hundred marks.‖ This was at the opening of the Woodstock parliament, to which Swinfield sent his seneschal, Sir William de Mortimer, on a message of excuse or for redress of grievance. But, beyond the bare assertion of the fact that he went, there is nothing

* Dors. ‖9, 13, 21, 36. † The abbreviated word is Brom'. Dors. ‖60 a. b.
‡ Fleta, cap. 79, p. 167. § Ante, p. 50.
‖ Annal. Wigorn. in aa. 1289, 1290. Rot. 18 Edw. I. in Turr. Lond.

to help us to the motive for his journey. The Endorsement instructs us that on a later occasion, when Edward I. was at Rockingham, Mortimer went to obtain satisfaction for injury at the law court that attended the King.*

The last day of their continuance at Colwall, April 9, Low Sunday, is wound up with a liberal summary of articles from cellar, larder, and kitchen. It was not a day of self-denial; they were on the eve of a long expedition, and so far prepared to encounter it. Their life could not be said to have been monotonous as respected change of place; the days were becoming longer, and the roads drier:

"To-morrow to fresh woods and pastures new."†

CRADLEY, another episcopal manor, was on the north-east. They reached it April 10. The living, in the same deanery as Colwall, was valued at £23. 6*s*. 8*d*.‡ The rector gave them hay. Their stud consisted of thirty-five horses, a number little exceeding the allowance, and seemingly not more than the work to be done required. The Bishop had groves in the parish that were resorted to by falcons, valuable in those days. The woodward was charged with watching the young, lest they should escape from their nests. He was successful in his endeavours to capture them, if it may be inferred from his not very extravagant reward, 6*d*. =7*s*. 6*d*. of modern money.§

Still remaining, but not long to continue, in the county of Hereford, we accompany the Bishop to BROMYARD, April 11, in the deanery of Frome. The church, parochial like Ledbury, has been frequently termed collegiate, from the three canons, prebendaries, or portionists attached to it from remote times.‖ Their names at present were Pontius and Peter de Cors,¶ nephews of John de Aquablanca, dean of Hereford, and Roger de Sevenak, one of the Kentish men who followed or were introduced by Swinfield out

* This has been already shewn, p. cii. Dors. ‖29. Comm. where for 1289 read 1290; also Dors. ‖58.

† Lycidas, Milton, last line. ‡ Taxatio P. Nichol. p. 160. § Dors. ‖49.

‖ Tanner. Coningsby MSS. Sometimes, as at Llanwarne, they were called rectors.

¶ In Tax. P. Nichol. p. 160, "De Salinis," but often mentioned in Swinfield's Register by the surname of "De Cors," f. 47 a, 117 b.

of that county. Sevenak had been instituted to his portion about three years,* had been long in the diocese, was a canon of Hereford in 1279, and had occasionally been intrusted with important missions.† When Luke de Bray resigned the office of treasurer he succeeded to it.‡ As one of the clerks attendant upon the Bishop, he was distinguished by the superior style of his dress, resembling in certain particulars that of his master. The entertainment given by him as portionist at Bromyard was of that indefinite class described as procuration by request or invitation. *Dominus fuit in victualibus procuratus ad rogatum.* The vicar received less than £4 per annum for his services; he is kept out of sight.§ Manorial rents of assize, and tolls arising from fairs and markets, as in this town, were usually lucrative sources of income to the lord. Great part of the wood called Brinkestye, and the Rompeney meadows, from which such a quantity of hay had been sent in the autumn to Sugwas,‖ were in this parish. Adam, the marshal, fell sick and was left behind,¶ while the rest took their way over the boundary of the county to TENBURY in Worcestershire. Here the Bishop was in the archdeaconry of Salop and deanery of Burford. The Norman abbey of Lyra held the great tithes;** the vicarial amounted to just one half of them, £6. 13*s.* 4*d.*†† The associate of the *dominus proctor*,‡‡ who helped to manage the revenues of the convent, was ready with his procuration for them. The adjoining parish of BURFORD came next on the list. It is in the county of Salop; the church gave name to a deanery, and, according to the taxation, had three portionists, Master Stephen de Saint

* Reg. Swinf. f. 47 a. † Ant. a Wood. Gutch, I. 326. Reg. Cantil. f. 61 a.

‡ He died in 1299. Reg. Swinf. f. 127 b. His town residence was in the cemetery of the church of Hereford.

§ Tax. P. Nichol. The preceding vicar had been William Osegod, who came to the Bishop at Bosbury, and resigned by his letters patent on the morrow after Michaelmas, 1287. Reg. Swinf. f. 44 b.

‖ Roll, Oct. 9, et alibi. ¶ Id. June 4.

** These had been disputed, and occasioned the wager of battle quoted before, p. xxxv.

†† Tax. P. Nichol. p. 165 b.

‡‡ Hugo de Domuley, the proctor in Cantilupe's time, presented Roger de Tenbury to the vicarage in 1275. He was in some difficulty in 1287, and had a process issued out against him. Reg. Swinf. f. 41 b.

George, William de Mortimer, and Robert de Lacy.* We are already acquainted with Mortimer, the seneschal, who was victualler to my lord and his retinue on that day; but whether by procuration or by gift the writer has forborne to tell. He appears to have been one of the race of the noble Mortimers of the house of Wigmore. It has been related that he went on my lord's errand to Woodstock; and, as it seems, has returned: the King himself had left the parliament on the previous Monday, and was on his way to his invalid parent at Amesbury.† William was a pluralist; and independent of his seneschalship, which he had occupied certainly since 1283,‡ if not before, held at times several pieces of preferment. An honourable family of Cornewalls in this place, lords of the manor, were for many generations, from the reign of Ed. I. the Barons of Burford, in title only, having the otherwise unprivileged *magni nominis umbra* alone attached to their surname. The manor was held in barony, and they were always so termed *ratione tenuræ*, though they never sat as such in parliament. They presented the portionists.§ Robert de Lacy had been admitted in the room of Galfridus dictus le Jowene, deceased, who died *ex vulnere quod habuit in capite*, in 1284.‖ Mortimer had been made portionist in 1276 ¶

On Friday, April 14, by a direct easterly course, they came to LINDRIDGE, in the county of Worcester, and deanery the same as before. Swinfield visited the church, which, like Ross, had been both a rectory and vicarage; these, however, upon the recent death of the late vicar, Walter, in 1288, had been united under the present rector, John de Buterlee (Bitterley), and were valued jointly at £13. 6*s*. 8*d*. per ann.** The reason for this proceeding, illustrative of the state of affairs in the church, is expressly set forth in the instrument framed for that purpose; that, whereas it had been canonically provided that ecclesiastical benefices should not be divided;†† and that

* Reg. Swinf. f. 165 b. † Household Roll, Tower. ‡ Reg. Swinf. f. 5 a.
§ Lloyd, Antiq. of Shropsh. by Dukes. 4to. Shrewsbury, 1844. pp. 110 et seq.
‖ Reg. Swinf. f. 27 a. ¶ Reg. Cantil. f. 36 a. ** Tax. P. Nichol. p. 165.
†† Several ecclesiastical constitutions had been directed against this practice. See Constit. Stephani Oxon. in Provinc. Lib. III. Tit. 4, p. 134. Dom. Othon. p. 33. *Cum sit ars, &c.* Dom. Othob. Tit. II. *Unitatem, &c.* p. 100, and the glosses of Lyndwood and Atho upon them; especially the last, here particularly pointed to in the case of Lindridge, *Ne una ecclesia in plures dividatur.* For the institution of parochial

such as for certain causes had been divided, upon cessation of such causes should on the first opportunity be restored to their integrity, so that it should be one church, one rector; and that no rector of a parish church should employ a vicar, but be bound to serve it himself as the cure thereof requires; unless a dignity or prebend be annexed to the said church, when the institution or creation of a vicar might be allowed. And whereas he (John de Bitterley) professed himself ready to reside personally on his church of Lindridge as the law required, there being no reasonable cause why there should be a vicar in the said church, the vicarage and rectory were perpetually united with all rights and appurtenances, emolument, burden, and cure.* The rector of Lindridge discharged his duty of procuration; and on the following day, April 15, they moved forward in the direction of Bewdley to AKA, or the Rock.† The parishes to which the visitor was directing his attention in this quarter lay within a small compass. Master William Brun was rector in 1276,‡ and no subsequent incumbent has been detected up to this year of visitation. The value of the benefice was the same as that of Lindridge.§ Procuration was furnished here; and this is the fifth day since any expense on the part of the Bishop was incurred.

Generally, but not invariably, their Sunday was a day of rest. This Sunday, April 16, was however one of the exceptions. Turning again

vicarages, and the establishment of vicars assistant and permanent, even where there were rectors, see Appendix to Pegge's Life of Bishop Grosseteste, No. VIII. The vicar mercenary, corresponding to the present curate, was employed by the rector, and might be dismissed by him; the vicar perpetual was an incumbent as at this day. Atho in Constit. dom. Othon. p. 24.

* Reg. Swinf. f. 48 b. It may, however, be added, that this integrity came again, within a few years, to be more permanently violated by the appropriation of the great tithes (35 Ed. I.) to the prior and convent of Saint Wolstan of Worcester (Annal. Eccl. Wigorn. in a. 1305. Reg. Swinf. f. 151 b.), by special grant of the King, with consent of the Bishop of Hereford. Edward wrote a letter to his chancellor in French, directing that it might be translated into Latin, and sent by a clerk of the chancery to the chapter of Hereford. Prynne, Papall Usurp. III. 1193. An additional instance of the employment of the French language in this reign. Ante, p. lxxi, note *.

† It was anciently called Alwinton. Nash, I. p. 10. ‡ Reg. Cantil. f. 31 b.

§ Tax. P. Nichol. p. 165. Out of many of these benefices payments were made in other quarters. As in this instance; the Prior of Ware was paid £2. 13*s*. 4*d*. and the Prior of Conches £2. Out of Lindridge the Prior of Worcester received £6. 13*s*. 4*d*.

into Salop, they came to KYNLETT, in the deanery of Stottesdon. Procuration was neither claimed nor found in this remote place; but the abbat of Wigmore, the rector,* as he is called from his possession of the great tithes, gave them materials for bread and fuel for baking it; besides hay and oats, and litter for horse and man. They had presents of capons, kids, and venison; but all other articles were purchased; and that the situation was remote from supplies is to be collected from the pains that were taken to secure them. Kidderminster, in Worcestershire, was the market to which they had recourse. Robert the carter was the purveyor; he had a guide to attend him probably through the intervening forest of Wyre, and paid for passing the river Severn on his way to and from the town. The bakers had taken possession of the lodgings three days before the rest; and nothing necessary to existing notions of comfort as to meat and drink seems to have been wanting. To the question, why no horse-shoes nor nails could be found nearer than at Hereford, that they should have sent thither for them? it may be replied, that the smiths of that city had ever been famous for their work from before the Norman conquest. On the 17th Sir William Sagon was instituted vicar to the church of Boriton, on the presentation of the abbat and convent of Wigmore.† During the two days spent in this retirement the mind of the Bishop was occupied by anxious thoughts, the object and end of which, as he himself has disclosed them, must now be shewn. There are seasons in human life, brief in themselves, yet often casting a tinge of disappointment over all succeeding years. Such was the day and hour to Swinfield in which he first addressed from Kynlett a letter to the Pope on the canonisation of his predecessor.

Bishop Cantilupe had now been dead more than seven years. At his departure he enjoyed a high reputation with the church, the court, and the people. His noble birth, the posts that he had occupied, his charities and austerities, contributed to his influence in life and after death. When Swinfield brought his bones from Italy, and deposited them in the cathedral of Hereford, that prelate became an essential benefactor to the church and city. Wealth and good report flowed in apace upon them. The popularity

* He presented to the vicarage William Philippe, 28 May, 1288. It was worth £4 per ann. Reg. Swinf. f. 48 a. Tax. P. Nichol. p. 175 a.

† Reg. Swinf. f 64 b.

of Cantilupe soon attracted multitudes to his tomb, and at the beginning of 1287 it began to be reported that miracles were wrought there.* The burial-place of Simon de Montfort had once been a favourite resort of diseased pilgrims,† but this must have far surpassed it. Those who have lived in the nineteenth need not be surprised at the credulity of the thirteenth century. The public, eager after such novelties, embraced with their wonted ardour this notion of the intervention of a supernatural power. Swinfield and his church as readily believed and encouraged it. An obit had been recently established for Cantilupe; its first celebration had taken place on August 25, 1288.‡ Already he enjoyed the appellation of saint, and nothing appeared wanting to uphold and transmit his posthumous reputation to posterity but a regular canonisation. Miracles, as they were called, were necessarily requisite to the pretensions of those who were proposed as candidates for that honour; and this point in Swinfield's opinion being attained, he no longer delayed to make the attempt. He had for some time cherished it in his mind; but, while the affection and veneration that he entertained for

* The first demonstration is referred by the annalist of Worcester to March 28, 1287. Angl. Sac. I. p. 508. The memory of Cantilupe is not likely to perish. Whenever his history shall be written impartially, divested of the extravagant panegyric that his fond admirers have heaped on him upon the one hand, and the severity of censure that, as a just and natural consequence, was provoked by that extravagance on the other hand, it will be seen that he was a memorable man; far more so in reality than the fame of such miracles as have been attached to his name could ever have made him. Like many others he has suffered from his friends. These are not pages of religious controversy; and it must be left to the common sense of the reader whether he will accept for a truth those representations which the attendants of the cathedral entered on their registers concerning the numbers of the dead restored to life! Surius, who visited the shrine, affirms of the miracles: *in codicibus ejus loci, ubi sacra ejus ossa quiescunt, pene infinita reperi, in quibus fertur sexaginta mortuos excitâsse.* De probatis sanctor. vitis. Col. Agripp. 1618. fol. p. 87.

† Chronic. Will. de Rishanger. Halliwell. Camd. Soc. Ed. 1840. Introduct. xxvii et seq. 67 et seq.

‡ Reg. Swin. f. 45 b. Swinfield paid down one hundred marks, residue of the goods of Cantilupe, in the chapter house of Hereford, for the purchase of a yearly rent or payment to be divided among the canons, priests, and clerks officiating at the cathedral; and it was expressed in the grant that, if by the grace and mercy of God the canonization of Bishop Thomas should hereafter be obtained, the money should go to them for a pittance, and be applied from year to year for festive purposes on that day for ever.

his master would urge him on, he was not without some misgivings as to the success of the undertaking, and he proceeded in a cautious way. About the year 1289, among secret instructions addressed to his proctor going to Rome is the following remarkable article. ‖ "Item. Let diligent inquiry be made whether God be working miracles at the tomb of the burial-place of Thomas, Bishop of Hereford, at Santo Severo, nigh unto Orvieto, and let inquiry be made by the dean,* and other discreet persons, what our Lord the Pope thinks of him, and the miracles wrought for him, and let word be written of all these things; and, if it should be expedient to sue for canonisation, how and in what sort of manner."

No answer to this has been found; most probably, had any thing extraordinary occurred at Santo Severo, it would not have remained unknown; but, as the cautious nature of the inquiry may excite surprise, it will be but fair to show briefly the causes from which it probably arose.

It was diligently circulated that Cantilupe had been a great sufferer in defending the rights of his own and other churches in the province of Canterbury. He certainly had endured much from the rough and impetuous conduct of Archbishop Peckham, in a dispute between them respecting what was considered to be an infringement upon the authority of the suffragans, which Cantilupe alone, it was said, had the courage to defend. Peckham, though an honest, was a passionate haughty man; and in self-command the Bishop of Hereford had greatly the advantage over him. There might be faults on both sides; but the tranquil demeanour of the latter irritated his adversary the more, and he proceeded to the utmost extremity against him. Having in the heat of the quarrel represented Cantilupe as crafty, malicious, and disobedient, guilty of blasphemy and falsehood, and as the holder of forged papal bulls, a crime of the deepest malignity in the eye of the canon law, he finished by publishing sentence of greater excommunication against him, his official, and all his attendants; and he pronounced his chapel under an interdict, with every place to which he might resort. Under these trying circumstances Cantilupe appealed to the Pope, and instantly repaired in person to Rome.‡ It might, perhaps, be ques-

* John de Aquablanca, then at Rome. † Reg. Swinf. f. 21 a.

‡ The origin and progress of this dispute, with many curious particulars throwing

tioned, whether as excommunicated, and while he continued so, this could aught avail him. However, he had recourse at once to the fountain-head, and to the astonishment of the Archbishop suddenly migrated, and left him and his own diocese behind him.* This quarrel has been very tenderly handled by ecclesiastical writers; they hint that the Bishop of Hereford fully attained the object of his wishes before he set out on his return;† but there is room for believing that this was far from being the case, that as an excommunicated person his appeal could not be received, that in this condition he was overtaken by his mortal seizure, and only received absolution at the hour of death.‡

But this is not all. Supposing Cantilupe to have been successful in his application for relief, or in expediting his cause against Peckham, he certainly did not get rid of other difficulties. This was not the only legal matter in which he was entangled at the Roman court. One there was besides, which threatened his reputation as well as his estate. No vestiges

light upon the characters of Cantilupe and Peckham, may be found, not very impartially related, in the letters of the Archbishop. Wilkins, Concilia, II. 79 et seq.

* In 1282, either when Cantilupe was abroad, or after his decease, Peckham visited the diocese of Hereford by his metropolitan authority, and was at Dore and Sugwas. Reg. Swinf. f. 18 b. App. No. XXIII. Wilkins, ut supra, pp. 87, 88.

† The expression of Surius is, *rebus et negotiis, quorum causa eo venerat pro voto expeditis.* Id. ut supra. In the *Life and Gests* it is stated, that "to obtain a quick dispatch and removal of delays was all the favour that was or could be shewed him." pp. 184, 185.

‡ This conclusion rests upon an entry in the register of Humphries, Bishop of Hereford, which shews that, early in the last century, a document to this effect, with others relating to the death and canonisation of Cantilupe, was preserved among the muniments of the dean and chapter. The "Index Archivorum," among references to articles respecting Thomas de Cantilupe, has the following: 12. *Absolutio ejus in articulo mortis.* Whether this be still in existence the editor is unable to state. The scandalous manner in which excommunications were resorted to by the higher clergy on light occasions gave great public offence in this age, and weakened the estimation of the order. In an altercation between the Bishop of Durham and the Archbishop of York, Bek, who feared the face of no man, whether armed to the teeth in steel or with the weapon of a maledictory tongue, arrested and sent to prison two apparitors of his superior sent to serve him with warnings; and immediately incurred sentence of the greater excommunication. 6 Id. April, 1282. Wilkins, ut supra, p. 184.

of this transaction are revealed in the published accounts of him; but, though the details are curious, they can only be offered in outline. At a time to which the registers of the see extend not, Bishop Aquablanca presented one Peter de Langona, or Langon, his own countryman, a Burgundian, to the prebend of Preston, in the cathedral of Hereford, and to the living of Little Wenlock, in that diocese; these he continued to hold till Bishop Breton, who came next to Aquablanca, forcibly ejected him from both of them, and presented the prebend to Cantilupe.* Upon this Langon appealed to Rome, whither the parties were cited to make their appearance, and on their contumacy a suit was commenced for damages and reinstatement. In the mean time Breton died, and was succeeded by Cantilupe, who, instead of restoring Langon, as at that juncture he had the power of doing, presented the prebend, on his own resignation, to another, and continued to defend the cause; but it became to him a source of heavy charge and increasing anxiety. His correspondence with agents manifests his doubts and painful apprehensions as to the issue. Langon was not to be diverted from his object; he had taken up his position, was resident, and gave his personal attention to the suit. Like the man in the Arabian fable, who fixed himself adhesively to the seaman's shoulders, the tormentor clung, and was not to be shaken off.† This too is a fair specimen of the manner in which proceedings were spun out at the Court of Rome. It lingered on through more than sixteen tedious years, and passed through many hands. Auditors and proctors and popes disappeared; but still the cause of "Langon versus Cantilupe and others," survived. Innocent V. John XXI. Nicholas III.

* The holding of a prebend in a cathedral seems at this period to have been a stepping-stone to the see. It was so at least in the cases of Cantilupe, Swinfield and Orleton.

† Cantilupe, finding probably that the cause was going against him, tried to get rid of his adversary by coming to terms with him through the mediation of friends. In a confidential letter to Matthew Rufus (Rous), Cardinal deacon of St. Mary in Porticu, whom he styles his friend and only refuge, he intreats him, as of his own proper motion, to persuade the dean of Hereford to interfere between them; but not to let Langon perceive it. *Vos autem in conspectu dicti Petri istud dissimuletis, prout videbitis expedire, semper eidem viriliter resistentes.* Schedule inserted in Cantil. Reg. at f. 63. Swinfield after him was no less anxious to dispatch the business with all speed. He proposes to his agents, *quod aliqua curialitas fiat advocato, ita quod ipsum statim liberet a Petro Langona.* Reg. Swinf. f. 20 a.

Martin IV. were no more. Then came Honorius IV.* in whose time Cantilupe himself went to his rest. At length, when Nicholas IV. filled the papal chair, the commission for the trial being renewed by him, the prosecution came forth with redoubled vigour, and took a fresh turn; and, forasmuch as, in the language of the lawyers, "no process could or ought to be taken against the dead," it was directed against the executors of Cantilupe's will, Richard de Swinfield † and William de Montfort, ‡ and involved the dean and archdeacon of Hereford, along with the executors of such deceased parties as had been in any way concerned in it; and especially the occupiers of the prebend and living. All these were required by mandate to appear in court, and hear the sentence. It was in substance to this effect: Robert de Ffŷlebi, holder of the prebend of Preston, to restore it, and pay sixty pounds sterling for every single year of occupation, and the expenses of Langon; Robert de Wŷch, incumbent of Little Wenlock, to restore it, and pay twelve pounds sterling for every single year of occupation, with expenses; Richard, Bishop of Hereford, and Master William de Montfort, executors of Thomas de Cantilupe, to repay sixty pounds for every single year in which he had detained the prebend of Preston, according to the quantity and value of money or effects, moveable or immoveable, of the

* Honorius IV. died April 3, 1287.

† Swinfield, or some one for him, in certain memoranda, freely expresses his sense of the privation of Langon, and the wrong that would be done to himself were he made responsible for that act; "*in causa Petri de Langon', quæ nullatenus videtur dominum Herefordensem contingere; pro eo maxime, quod ipse non spoliavit, nec successit spolianti, nec ipsam* (sc. præbendam) *contulit quoque modo, nec alius quisquam nomine suo.* Reg. Swinf. f. 30 a.

‡ The association of one of the De Montforts with Swinfield in this executorship was natural. The Cantilupes had been attached to that party, and Thomas at an early period had been indebted to them for advancement. This William de Montfort, Dean of Saint Paul's, died suddenly of apoplexy, brought on apparently by agitation at having to make a speech before the King, as prolocutor, in defence of the clergy. Matth. Westm. in a. 1294. In his will he did not omit to leave a legacy, and express a hope for the canonisation of Cantilupe. ‖*Item, memorandum quod sic continetur in testamento bonæ memoriæ magistri Willielmi de Monteforti quondam decani Londoniensis ecclesiæ.* ‖*Item* .C. *marcas pro procuranda canonizatione domini Thomæ bonæ memoriæ quondam Herefordensis episcopi, cum Domino placuerit quod dicta canonizatio poterit prosperari.* From an almost obliterated and unnumbered folio at the beginning of Swinfield's register.

said Thomas remaining in their hands, and to pay expenses. The sentence of deprivation pronounced against Langon, with all other acts against him, to be null and void; and he to be restored to the possession of the aforesaid church and canonry, and to the state in which he was at the time of his appeal.*

This sentence was pronounced by Bertuldus de Labro, the auditor, in the court of the papal palace at Orvieto,† on July 26, 1290, just three days beyond the closing date of our Roll. A protest was immediately entered against it by the proctor of the executors, on the score of its injustice; and this was met by a counter-appeal on the part of the plaintiff; and again replied to on that of the defendants, who by petition to another auditor moved for setting aside and quashing the whole. How Ffŷlebi and Wŷch extricated themselves from their fines is not made known; but the former ultimately resigned. The executors shewed that they had no assets of Cantilupe's estate remaining, but had laid out the residue in founding his obit, and had formally been released from their liabilities by letters of the Court of Canterbury.‡ Here for awhile the matter ostensibly slumbers,§ till at length Langon re-appears in the diocese of Hereford; gives up his suit and claim to the pecuniary damages awarded to him, and addresses a mandate to that effect to his proctors at Rome, dated from Bosbury, on the Feast of St. Laurence, Aug. 12, 1292.‖ Thus finally victorious in this protracted struggle, and restored to his prebend of Preston, he ended his days in the enjoyment of its emolument with his seat in the chapter and stall in the choir, about November, 1299.¶

An extract of this process, from the archives of the court, is entered upon Swinfield's register;** and at the end of it an attempt is made to counteract any injurious effect that it might have a tendency to produce, by

* Reg. Swinf. ff. 71 b, 72 a.

† *Per dominum Bertuldum auditorem pro tribunali sedentem apud Urbem veterem in palatio domini papæ, ubi jus redditur.* Id. ut supra. The *Urbs Vetus*, in the vicinity of Monte Fiascone, where Cantilupe died, though frequently and strictly rendered by *Civita Vecchia*, as ante p. lxv. is here unquestionably Orvieto.

‡ Reg. Swinf. f. 63 a.

§ Directions were subsequently given to Richard de Pudlesdone, the Bishop's proctor, *ad componendum et transigendum*, to make up the matter. See App. No. IV. pp. 203 et seq. for particulars respecting the last stage of the affair.

‖ Reg. Swinf. f. 77 a. ¶ Id. f. 127 a. ** Id. ff. 70 et seq.

pointing out certain falsehoods contained in the charges as to the precise occurrence of events, the value of the prebend and living, and the names of those who successively held them; but these negations leave totally untouched the great question of the original and continued deprivation of Langon,* upon which the justice or injustice of Breton or Cantilupe depend. While that point remains utterly obscure, the impression which it is calculated to convey to the unprejudiced mind will probably be, that both of them were justly censurable, and that if the latter possessed the virtues of a saint, he was not altogether divested of the moral infirmities of a man.

Under the circumstances that have been related, and while such a cause was pending, it is intelligible enough why Swinfield, having in view this canonisation, should have desired to know at an early stage of his project, what sentiments the Pope, on whom it would depend, entertained of his predecessor or the miracles. But, whatever might be the opinion of the then reigning pontiff,† another sat at present in the papal chair, who, if not the personal friend of Cantilupe, had been so far prejudiced in his favour as at his funeral to have pronounced an eulogy over him. Accordingly the Bishop, being now acquainted with the regular mode of proceeding in such a case, took his first step; though he ventured,

* The reason of Langon being ejected in the first instance is no where shewn by way of defence, either on the part of Breton or Cantilupe. No more is alleged than that it was done *juris exigentia, et ordine asservato*, as right required, and in observance of order. Reg. Swinf. f. 73 a. Langon in one place affirms that Breton did it *pro suæ voluntatis arbitrio, auctoritate ordinaria*. In another, *quod, cum ipse pacifice possedisset præbendam in ecclesia Herefordensi, et ecclesiam de parva Wenlok, Herefordensis diocesis, sibi collatas per Episcopum Herefordensem, qui erat Burgundus, quo Episcopo defuncto, successit ei in Episcopatu Johannes dictus Brito, qui erat Anglicus, et invidens Burgundis, pro suæ libito voluntatis spoliavit dictum Petrum, et plures alios, prædictis præbenda et ecclesia et domibus suis.* Id. f. 71 b. And in this, no doubt, was the germ of the whole affair, issuing primarily from the unfortunate attachment of Hen. III. to foreign ecclesiastics, and the jealousy and confusion that it created in the resistance that the English offered to them. Cantilupe writes to Edmund Warefield, his proctor at Rome, in 1275, always to keep a good look out over the Burgundians: *advertatis semper de Burgundis.* Reg. Cantil. f. 5 b.

† It is not certain whether the proctor's instructions to inquire were issued under the pontificate of Honorius IV. or at the beginning of that of Nicholas IV. On the death of Honorius the see was vacant eleven months. Modern Univ. Hist. XXII. 302.

it may be thought rather hazardously, on the experiment, in defiance of whatever sentence might be forthcoming from the court of him to whom he addressed his petition.

The letter of Swinfield to the Pope, as it stands in the original, must speak for itself:* a compressed recital of its contents may be sufficient here. It differs somewhat in tone and expression from the official or familiar epistles already quoted. No doubt it was well considered, and worded in the most approved respectful phraseology of the age; but it is laboriously involved, circumlocutory, and seemingly less at ease than other specimens of his correspondence. After the usual adulatory salutation of kissing the pontiff's feet, it opens with citing the scriptural proverb that "a wise son maketh a glad father,"† introducing to the pope his son in question, Thomas, sometime Bishop of Hereford, the joy of the whole Anglican Church. commended of God and his holiness. The writer then descants upon his noble extraction and exemplary manners, and reminds him how truly and clearly these were set forth by him in an eloquent discourse delivered to the clergy and laity at his funeral. He lays great stress upon the divine confirmation of these excellent qualities by continued miracles renowned throughout England and many other parts of the world; not to be wondered at, he observes, considering his worth with reference to the Church at large, and sufferings in the cause of his own church to the end of his days. Swinfield next casts his personal experience into the scale. "I write these things to you, most holy father, with a safer conscience, inasmuch as I formed a part of the family of this servant of God for about eighteen years, and was very frequently an eye-witness of his behaviour." Then winding up with a detail of his virtues, modestly kept secret by him, as far as was reasonably in his power, he urges that such a burning and shining light should not be hidden under a bushel, but set on a candlestick; and upon all these grounds, as a matter of the highest consequence and advantage to the church of Hereford, solicits his admission in the customary manner into the catalogue of saints.‡

* App. No. XXIV. † Proverbs, x. 1.

‡ The sequel may be summarily given. There is no intimation of any answer having been received from Nicholas IV. He died in 1292, and after a vacancy of two years Celestine V. was elected. This event offering an opportunity for a fresh application, the Bishops of Durham and Ely sent a joint petition, which was immediately

This task accomplished, dating his letter from Kynlett * (now Kinlet), before he left the place, on April 18, he advanced a short day's journey to DUDDLEWICK, a township in the adjoining parish of Stottesden. The manor belonged to the abbey of Salop, and had a house capacious enough for the Bishop's reception. We find that it had been previously cleansed, a duty which was undertaken by William the porter, † acting as harbinger. Swinfield is diligently following up his circuit, and continues every day for a fortnight upon the road, halting at the undermentioned places, visiting at some, and receiving gratuitous assistance at others; but only thrice relieved by general entertainment of man and horse, which will always be found expressed by the steward as *summa nichil*. April 19, at CHETTON, near Bridgenorth. Roger de Lectone (Letton ?), chaplain, had been presented to this rectory

backed by one from the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Reg. Swinf. ff. 77 a. 128 b. But Celestine abdicated in the following month, and even if the letters had reached him, or been proceeded upon, Boniface VIII. annulled all the official acts of both his predecessors. Swinfield waited patiently till 1299, when he resumed his suit, and wrote what is denominated his "last letter." Id. f. 124 b. No notice, however, appears to have been taken of it, either in this or the ensuing pontificate of Benedict XI. Edward I. took up the cause in that of Clement V. a. 1305, communicated with Swinfield upon it, and set himself in earnest to secure the object. The King wrote himself; and several letters in due form were sent from bishops and nobles to the Pope and cardinals, pressing its speedy advancement in this and the following year. Id. ff. 150 b. 151 a. 154 a. 155 a. Measures were adopted for setting on foot a commission of inquiry: but still it lingered till the Pope and King and Swinfield were dead. In the meantime it had not only exhausted and disappointed the Bishop's expectation, but was attended with such serious expense that it kept his purse distressingly low. Id. ff. 170, 175 b. Another Pope, John XXII., assumed the tiara, when Edward II. having succeeded his father and become a party to the petition, such efforts were made that the inquiry was revived, and so effectually that a bull was issued in May, 1320, in the time of Bishop Orleton, by which, to the great joy of the Anglican Church, and that of Hereford in particular, the canonisation of Thomas de Cantilupe was declared. Reg. Orleton, ff. 21 a, 38 a. Bullarium Roman. I. 223. Wilkins, Concil. II. 283. Rymer, I. pp. 2, 985; II. pp. 20, 21, 43, 179, 355, 385.

* Among the marvels of Shropshire in this century was the appearance of two mock suns, observed at this place on the ides of March 1282, by the prior of the Augustinians of Ludlow, Sir Brian de Brampton, and many others. This phenomenon produced sufficient impression to secure it a place in the Annals of Worcester. Angl. Sacra, Annal. Wigorn. in anno.

† Dors. ‖45 g.

by Sir Hugh Burnel, knight, in 1285,* in the room of Nicholas de Hereford, canon of the church of Hereford. The church was visited, and the rector gave procuration. The next stage, April 20, was only to MORVILLE, the adjoining parish. A collegiate establishment of eight canons, set up in this place before the Norman conquest, with a church dedicated to Saint Gregory, had passed into the hands of the abbat and convent of Salop;† they had reduced the rectory to a vicarage, and had planted a Benedictine cell there. It stood on the left hand, beyond the village, on the way towards Wenlock. The prior supplied their thirty-five horses that night with oats and hay. The two last mentioned churches were in the deanery of Stottesden. April 21 they rode into WENLOCK. That town gave its name to a deanery. Its priory, at that time consisting of Cluniac monks, and its church, dedicated to Saint Milburga, had been set apart for prayer and praise, almost as early as the foundation of the see of Hereford, and had so continued at intervals for at least six hundred years. Founded by Saxons, destroyed by Danes, restored by Saxons and again deserted, it was once more re-established by Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury, in its existing state. This was a regular visitation,‡ and the prior, Henry de Bonvillars, alias Bonville, or his representative, entertained them by procuration in his venerable and splendid abode. For it must be remembered that this was indeed a wealthy house.§ Its temporals in the diocese, exceeded only by those of Wigmore, were estimated at £124. 10*s.* 4*d.* per annum; among which was a flock of 976 sheep. But it reflected no great credit upon Tubbe, the former prior, when the survey was taken, that he had sold his wool for several years by a bargain beforehand, and received the whole of the money, so that his successor was deprived of this source of income till the term was expired.‖

* Reg. Swinf. f. 20 b.

† Tanner, in Morville. Antiq. of Shropshire, Rev. R. W. Eyton, I. p. 32 et seq.

‡ John de Lodelawe, chaplain, was instituted to it on their presentation, at Bosbury, March 28, 1291. Reg. Swinf. f. 73 b. A priest named Corne had been instituted in 1279. Reg. Cantil. f. 62 a.

§ The prior was lord of the manor. Plac. de quo Warr. 20 Edw. I. p. 684 a. John Tubbe is named as prior about this period in note h, p. 76 of the Roll, on the authority of Willis. But the list of priors in Dukes' Antiq. of Shropsh. App. p. xlv. seems more entitled to credit. De Bonvillars succeeded Tubbe, and had the temporalities restored to him in 1284, and continued prior till 1319.

‖ Tax. P. Nichol. p. 164 b. Another trick of Tubbe is given in Dukes, ut supra, p. 70.

Neither did it redound to the honour of the society, or the fame of his good government, that, about seven years before, William, one of the monks, had put himself at the head of a gang of robbers, and was taken and executed.* April 22, at Oxenbold, a manor of the said prior, where the Bishop rested, by invitation,† on his way. The spacious manor-house, standing solitary in the parish of Stanton-long in Corve-dale, according to tradition, was once surrounded by a park.‡ Its walls, upwards of 8 feet in thickness, still defy the hand of time. South-westward to Munslow, on St. George's Day. It will be observed that no mention is made of visitation in the greater number of places at which the Bishop stops to rest; and whether this be an omission or otherwise on the part of the keeper of the Roll cannot be determined by one who comes to the inquiry more than five centuries after him. The incumbent of Munslow left it to the rector of Stanton-long to make a present of provender, though Munslow was a rectory worth £11. 6*s.* 8*d.* but he was probably non-resident, as he had an assistant vicar at less than £4. Proceeding thence in the direction of Ludlow, and entering into that deanery, they arrived, April 24, at Stanton Lacy, belonging to Lantonia prima. Their great tithes here were the highest in all the deanery, except those of Diddlebury, and amounted to £36. 13*s.* 4*d.*§ Their vicar had a salary of £11. The Geneviles were lords of the manor.‖ The time of year and character of the country are marked by kids as a frequent article of provision. Though goats had been found prejudicial to inclosures they were encouraged in wild and open tracts. In the town or vicinity of Ludlow mead was procured; and they bought canvas for pack-

* Ann. Wigorn. in a. 1283.

† The expression *fuit dominus cum domino priore* would seem to lead to the conclusion that Bonvillars actually accompanied the Bishop to this manor. It may, however, be remarked that the prior of Wenlock had obtained in the preceding January a royal licence for one year to go abroad. *Literas de attornato habet prior de Wenlok, qui de licentia regis profecturus est ad partes transmarinas, sub nominibus fratris Jacobi de Cosseneye et Thomæ Lenfaunt per unum annum duraturas. . . . Teste rege apud Westmonast.* 20 *die Jan.* Rot. Pat. 18 Edw. I. in Turr. Lond.

‡ This is said to have formerly contained deer. Qu. whether the hint about fresh venison in April 24 may not have been connected with the fact?

§ Tax. P. Nichol. p. 166 b.

‖ Dukes, p. 224.

ing their plate.* The prior's agent, and Master Richard de Heytone (Eyton), portionist of Bold and Castle Holgate, made up a joint contribution of corn, hay, and straw. Some of the horses had fallen sick. April 25, they were at BITTERLEY, and still in the deanery of Ludlow, but to have arrived at it must have passed through Ludlow town, and in doing this the Bishop would have an opportunity, which about this time he seems to have taken, of bestowing his bounty on the Augustinians there.† The church of Bitterley was worth £2. 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. The rector did not refuse his procuration, but proceeding with the same caution as the incumbent of Lugwardine, preferred to retain his own sense of non-liability, by receiving his ordinary as an invited guest. The lord of Bitterley manor was the patron.‡ April 26, they lodged at BROMFIELD. The pleasant site of this priory was admirably suited to the taste of those who sought religious retirement. It stood near the confluence of the Oney and the Teme. Not far from this spot gigantic oaks, the growth of centuries, yet grace the banks of these winding waters, fit scenes for monastic meditation. From the earliest and, as we may be apt to think, most unobservant times, the lovers of sacred solitude had discriminating eyes, and chose their homesteads well. Here too were originally prebendaries after the ancient fashion, supplanted by a Benedictine cell of monks, merged in the great abbey of Gloucester about the year 1155.§ The prior catered for their horses, but left the travellers to provide for themselves. Indeed the presence of the Bishop at this place did not imply a visitation, neither was it admitted as such. The monks of Bromfield, whose first foundation was of Saxon origin, were tenacious of the original liberties attached to it. They

* It is a less familiar fact that even as early as this time cotton was used for packing and preserving jewels. In the Household Roll of lord Edward, son of the King, 19 Edw. I. in the Tower, is an entry: *Pro Coton' empt' ibid'* (sc. Londoniæ) *ad salvationem jocalium.*

† Dors. ‖ 33, ante, pp. lxiv. clxix. He might have communicated in this way with the Minorites of Bridgnorth, in passing from Chetton to Morville. Both remittances were made in April.

‡ Reg. Swinf. f. 61 a.

§ Tanner. MSS. Cotton. Domit. A. VIII. f. 146 a. *Hic Bromfelda datur, et canonicus monachatur.*

maintained that they held under frankalmoign, and immediate regal protection, independent of episcopal jurisdiction; and produced charters, if they were really authentic, in proof of their claim. Such documents, it is well known, have often fallen under the suspicion of forgeries; yet, whatever may have been the true character of the originals that were held by the fraternity of Bromfield, a transcript of them has been admitted into the register of the see, a proof in their favour that they were at that time received as evidence worthy of preservation.* The divisions of travel as to distance at this part of the route are short, and were leisurely taken. April 27, they came to STOKE-SAY, where the abbat and convent of Haghmon, or Haughmond,† near Shrewsbury, were patrons of the vicarage, worth £4. 6*s*. 8*d*. per annum. These had received the advowson, in 1156, from the family of Say, from whom Stoke has ever since borne its distinctive appellation; but the Lacys had been more permanently its lords. However, as there is a Stoke in Herefordshire to which the gentilitial name of Lacy had been given, it was well contrived, to avoid confusion, that this Stoke in Shropshire should hold its adjunct of Say. But neither the Says nor Lacys were now the masters here. The estate had passed into the hands of the Ludlows; and the mansion they inhabited stands a curious and genuine memorial, as to most of its parts and proportions, of the domestic architecture of the age.

* Reg. Swinf. f. 153 a, b. The first of these instruments, professing to be a charter granted by Edward (the Confessor?), is so imperfectly copied by the transcriber as to afford little chance of determining upon its pretensions. The others, of Henry II. and Bishop Gilbert Foliot, are more satisfactory. The last declares, *quod memorata ecclesia propria dominica domini regis est. Vult dominus rex, et præcipit, ut ipsa sua plena gaudeat libertate, sicut ceteræ consimiles capellæ quæ sunt in Anglia. Nec permittit dominus rex me posse habere aliquam jurisdictionem in sæpefatum priorem, vel in aliquem ipsius successorum; sed nec procurationem, nisi tantum de gratia prioris, si casu me contingat per illum locum transire.* At the assizes, 20 Edw. I. the prior of Bromfield claimed free warren in the manor of Bromfield, by the charter of Henry II. which was allowed. The said charter comprised a grant of *infangthef*, and the jury found that by virtue of that power one Henry de la Chapele had been hanged in Bromfield for theft, being tried and condemned by the prior. Antiq. of Shropsh. Lloyd. Dukes, p. 116.

† In the different spellings of proper names, which have never been determined, the editor hopes for the indulgence of the reader when he has sometimes varied them by an interchange between the ancient and modern orthography.

In 19 Edw. I. Laurence de Ludlo, who held of John de Grey, as he also of the King in capite, obtained a license to strengthen it with a wall of stone and lime; and, in the vanity of man's excusable desire of perpetuating possession, and making all secure for those who come after him, to place battlements upon it for him and his heirs for ever.* This Ludlow had, however, no communication with the Bishop sufficient to bring his name upon the Roll; but Master Richard de Heyton,† who had already lent his assistance at Stanton Lacy, reappears upon it, and joins with the abbat-rector‡ in providing for the stable. April 28 was passed at WISTANSTOW, where again the Ludlows were also manorial lords. Swinfield had cause to notice this place; he could not have forgotten the conduct of the rector, nor the measure which the irregularity of that individual had lately compelled him to adopt. Sir Roger Sprenghose was descended of a family that stood high in Salop. They were for a long time lords of the manor of Longnor, within the manor of Condover; and many of them had been sheriffs of the county.§ Presuming perhaps upon his connexion, he had in more than one instance tried the forbearance of his diocesan. By a canon of the council of Lyons, then in force, every junior incumbent was compellable to take priest's orders within one year after his admission to a living.‖ At what age Sprenghose succeeded to Wistanstow is not clear; according to the above cited canon he should not, as a rector, have been younger than twenty-five; yet he was but a subdeacon when he was instituted in the latter part of Cantilupe's time.¶ It seems hardly credible that he should have been permitted to set the rule at defiance, as he did, for six or seven years, and when his church was twice visited to have refused procuration; so that

* See Mrs. Stackhouse Acton's interesting memoir and plea for the restoration of that valuable relic of mediæval structures in Archæol. Cambrensis, New Series, IV. p. 39.

† The name of Eyton will be entitled to the gratitude of all future antiquaries and patrons of local history, when the accurate labours of the existing author of "The Antiquities of Shropshire" shall have been given to the literary world.

‡ Gilbert de Caumpden, who succeeded Henry de Asteley, 12 Edw. I. and retired 33 Edw. I. Dugdale, VI. p. 197.

§ Blakeway and Owen, I. p. 131.

‖ Acta Concil. Lugdun. in Hardoin. Sacrosancta Concil. XI. p. 983. Const. Othon. Lyndwood, pp. 24 et seq.

¶ In October 1281. The living was given to him by Sir Robert de Morpelton. Reg. Cantil. f. 70 a.

his living became voidable, had the Bishop proceeded strictly against him.* He was, however, brought to see and acknowledge his offence, and came to Bosbury in 1288 to make his personal submission, when on compliance with the constitution, and payment of his dues, he was allowed to continue rector of Wistanstow.† The annual value of this rectory was £13; that of the vicarage £5.‡ It is not improbable that the procuration submitted to was still paid in money, for hay and oats are recorded as a gift. Some of the horses continued ailing, and it would be a reasonable cause for the continuance of their short stages. April 29 they turned aside to the right, through the valley to ETON, where the prior and convent of Wenlock placed a vicar with an income of £4. 6*s.* 8*d.* They had the manor with the old accompaniments of mills and customary tenants. The manor-house was set in order for the reception of its guests, and the stable supplied by the lord prior; but the place was remote, and it was necessary to look out for victuals. They had brought cod and plaice with them, and with the necessaries that they procured, and the help of a present of two salmon, they managed to prevent a day of abstinence, this Saturday, from being converted into an actual fast. Sunday, April 30, they passed at CHURCH STRETTON, in its beautiful dale. The Master of the Temple was lord of the manor.§ This and the two preceding churches were in the deanery of Wenlock. To those who were acquainted with what was then going on at the royal court the day was one of unusual interest, remarkable for the nuptials‖ of the Princess Joan of Acre with Gilbert de Clare, sometime the contentious neighbour of the see. The patron of Stretton in 20 Edw. I.

* If Cantilupe had not been cut off, Sprenghose would in all probability not have continued uncorrected so long. During the attempts of that prelate to reform his diocese he expressed himself very strongly on the subject of those who ventured to transgress. A passage in a letter to his official proves his resolute impartiality. *In citatione ad ordines facienda nulli pareatis, nulli parcatis, quantacunque præfulgeat dignitate.* Reg. Cantil. f. 10 a.

† APP. No. XXII. ‡ Tax. P. Nichol. p. 166 b.

§ Plac. de quo Warranto, 20 Edw. I. p. 684 b.

‖ They were married at the gate or church porch of Westminster Abbey. For this custom see Brand, edit. Ellis, II. pp. 133, 134. The King placed 40*s.* with the ring upon the missal with which the ceremony was performed. Lib. Hosp. 18 Edw. I. in Turr. Lond.

was the King, the incumbent Philip de Valence.* The rick and garner of the rector were placed at the service of the travellers *de dono*. They made a long stride to get forward, on May 1, to PONTESBURY, over a country mountainous and intricate, and not to be traversed without a guide. In these parts many traces were left of the collegiate institutions of elder times, before the monks had interfered with the labours and revenues of the secular clergy. Pontesbury, that gave name to a small rural deanery, had then three portionists. The names of them were David, Nicholas, and Robert de Ratford.† The rector, one of them, sent his present of corn and hay. Though this might have been a fatiguing day compared with those that immediately preceded it, they took no additional rest, but on the morrow, hiring carters, and probably their conveyances, they arrived and stayed at

WESTBURY NEAR CAUS, May 2 and 3,

on the road between Shrewsbury and Montgomery, hard by the domain and castle of the celebrated Peter Corbet, and linked with Caus to distinguish it from other places of the name. Two portionists were attached to this church. One of them, John de Lutham, or Ludham, gave hay and corn and litter. The house of reception had been made ready by the baker; neither could the cooks have been idle, from the quantity and variety of provision that was laid in. Beef, mutton, veal, kid, roebuck, and poultry, bought and presented, are symptomatic of a feast on the first day of their abode. On the second, they accepted the invitation of Sir William de Hodnet, knight, who was patron of the church; and it is one among the few instances in which the Bishop was indebted to the assistance or hospitality of any saving the clergy on his round. This William held Hodnet of the King by serjeantry of the stewardship of the castle of Montgomery; and it was his duty to defend the outworks of that fortress with his retinue: his daughter and heir married Sir William, son of the Sir Lawrence de Ludlo ‡

* Dukes, p. 232. † Tax. P. Nichol. p. 167.

‡ When the church of Westbury subsequently fell under the patronage of this family, we have the regular appointment and admittance of a priest as sacristan, or sexton, accompanied by a mandate from the Bishop to the parish priest to induct him. || *Sacristaria de Westbury.* || *Memorandum, quod sexto Id. Maii, anno domini M°.CCC°. decimo apud Bosebury admisit dominus Willielmum de Castro Holegod, presbyterum,*

who has been shewn to have held Stoke-Say. They were now approaching that disputed ground where so lately as in November, 1288, Swinfield had with imposing solemnity settled a part of the north-western limit of his diocese, and recovered and established the rights of certain churches, and the extent of their parishes on the border.* He halted at one of them,

ALBERBURY, May 4 and 5.

The great tithes, amounting to £25, belonged to a convent of Grandimontensians, established here in the reign of Henry I. It was a cell to the larger house of that order in Limosin.† The prior, called also *corrector*,‡ Peter de Corcellis, whose name indicates his alien extraction, has the credit of the procurations; but they were actually shared between him and the vicar, Gregory de Clun, if the parties stood to an award made between them by the Bishop,§ in May 1289. The vicar had served the church with its chapels, and that of Woolaston, four years, for an emolument of £6. 13*s*. 4*d*.; and during this time had been engaged in a dispute with his patrons, which Swinfield settled in the following manner: that the costs of visitations, repairs of chancels, books, vestments, and vessels, with other ornaments of the church, as well as all charges extraordinary imposed by authority apostolical, metropolitan, diocesan, royal, or any other whatsoever, should be borne in equal proportions between the incumbent and the

ad sacristariam de Westbury sub Castro de Caus, ad præsentationem domini Willielmi de Lodelowe militis, veri patroni ejusdem, et ipsum instituit in eadem dando eidem suas patentes literas in hujus consuetas. Et eadem die mandavit presbytero parochiali loci ejusdem per suas literas solitas, ut ipsum induceret in corporalem possessionem sacristariæ prædictæ. Reg. Swinf. f. 168 b.

* Ante, pp. lxxviii. lxxix.

† Tanner in Alberbury. They had but two other houses in England. Craswell, in Herefordshire, in the wild country at the base of the Black mountain; and Grosmont, in Eskdale, in Yorkshire.

‡ In the Taxation, p. 163, he is called *Custos*. The revenues of alien houses were managed by agents. The sheep of the proctor are reckoned among the moveables. Ibid.

§ In the following century the convent of Alberbury was independent of the Bishop. Hugo Pelegrim, treasurer of Lichfield and papal nuncio, wrote to John Trillec, Bishop of Hereford in 1357, to send him a note of all ecclesiastical places or benefices exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary by privilege or custom, and the Bishop, among other places, returns the priories of Alberbury and Clifford, and notwithstanding what has been related at p. clix, and is shewn in APP. XXIII.—the abbey of Dore. Reg. Trillec, Ep. Heref. f. 128.

brethren of the house. Besides these he was to undertake the sole provision of due and suitable lights in the chancel, to collect Peter-pence from the parishioners and pay them to the archdeacon, with twelve pence for synodals, and half a mark yearly, on Michaelmas day, to the prior and brethren, in token of subjection, and for the boon of peace *(pro bono pacis.)* * To these articles certain penalties were annexed on failure of payment within a certain time; conditions that upon the whole appear sufficiently humiliating to such as are unacquainted with the nature of the dispute, or how far the vanquished vicar had offended to deserve so lasting a brand. There was no lack of a disposition towards altercation either among the clergy or laymen of the country. The Fitz-Warrens kept it alive at Alberbury, and Corbet at Caus, and gave employment to the courts of assise.† Borderers, who had lived so long in the presence of a common enemy, when that incentive was removed, retained their ancient habits by quarreling among themselves. At Alberbury, on Thursday, May 4, the Bishop dedicated, that is, consecrated the parish church.‡ Our document gives facts rather than motives; and it were useless to guess at the reason for this solemnity at this time; or to ask why, seeing that it was a parish church, and had been regularly served by a vicar, it had not been dedicated before? The ceremony was considered so essential in a building erected for public Christian worship that the canonists in alluding to it were almost at a loss how worthily enough to describe it.§ But, strange to

* Reg. Swinf. f. 60 b. † Dukes, pp. 101, 107.

‡ The words *Consecratio* and *Dedicatio* are used convertibly in the Constitution of Othobonus, *de Consecrat. et Reformat. status Ecclesiæ.* Tit. 3, f. 83, Lyndwood. The historians of Shrewsbury point out that a distinction is made between them in the commission of a suffragan (Blakeway and Owen, I. p. 314, note l.); and their several application by the Romans is explained by Forcellinus, Lexic. in v. *consecro.*

§ It was styled *salubre mysterium, officium sublime.* Yet Otho, in his Constitutions of 1236, Lyndwood, pp. 6, 7, rebukes the disuse of it. *Multas invenimus ecclesias, et aliquas cathedrales, quæ licet fuerint ab antiquo constructæ, nondum tamen sunt sanctificationis oleo consecratæ.* Wherefore he directs all cathedral, conventual, and parochial churches to be consecrated within two years after they were built. *Omnes, quæ perfectis parietibus sunt constructæ, infra biennium per Diocesanos Episcopos, ad quos pertinent, vel eorum auctoritate per alios consecrentur.* Pegge, Life of Grosseteste, p. 63, suggests the enormous expenses of fees and entertainments as the cause of the

observe, the neglect of it had become so scandalous in England during the thirteenth century that it provoked the censure of a papal legate to correct it. The church of Alberbury was dedicated to St. Michael.

Having touched the extreme point of their progress in this direction, they took Friday for a day of repose, to prepare for moving southward, parallel to the border, to

CHIRBURY, May 6 and 7,

not far from Montgomery. The advowson was in the gift of the priory of Austin canons settled here. Its tithes, as well as those of Alberbury, had been claimed by Anianus in his suit. They were appropriated to the convent at £30 per annum;* those of John, the vicar, are not given in the Taxation. The Bishop began by visiting the church on Saturday, and on the Sunday the same rite of dedication was renewed as at Alberbury, and to the same saint. Swinfield was entertained by procuration at the cost of Adam,† the prior, both these days. The state of the convent and its acceptance with their ordinary may be presumed to have been now very different from what they were in 1286, when they provoked his animadversion. Within the last two years there had been a growing intercourse and cordiality between them. In December, 1288, this house had been selected by Swinfield, with the concurrence of Anianus and their respective chapters, as the most convenient place for conference on the disputed claim to Gordwr. And the language employed by the Bishop of Hereford, in giving his opinion of the society, when in October, 1289, he favoured them by confirming anew their grant of these great tithes, is striking as a contrast to that which he had used before. Instead of being "vain, litigious, gossiping, and vagabonds on the face of the earth,"‡ they are commended for their devotion toward God and charity to their neighbour, hospitality, and relief of the poor;§ a satisfactory and happy reformation, if the expressions may be admitted in their real acceptation rather than as a mere

omission. Among the articles of inquiry in his visitation of 1236 is, 15, *An ecclesiæ sint dedicatæ?* Id. App. p. 313.

* Tax. P. Nichol. p. 166 b.

† He resigned in 1299. *Senio jam fractus, et adversa valetudine corporali miserabiliter molestatus.* Reg. Swinf. f. 126 b.

‡ Ante, p. lxxvi.

§ Reg. Swinf. ff. 30 b, 63 b.

official form. Besides this, however, prior Adam is personally grateful, and makes his visitor the friendly present of a colt,* so that it cannot be doubted that a good understanding existed between them.†

Having passed through the deanery of Pontesbury, in which the last three churches were situated, they entered that of Clun; and still continuing southward, and in a track nearly parallel to the frontier of Wales, they arrived and remained at

BISHOP'S CASTLE, from May 8 to 12 inclusive.

The Spaniards have a proverb, that "he who hath a castle on a frontier never wants a quarrel;" and it seems to have been verified at Bishop's Castle in unsettled times. This was, as its name implies, the stronghold of the occupier of the see, and was the only real fortress remaining to him, whither he could resort in time of danger. It was girt with strong walls and defended by embattled towers: the owner of the manor was invested with the powers of a feudal seignory: as a residence it had a dove-cote and a garden,‡ and here, or hereabouts at Ledbury (Lidbury) North, was a range of forest, woodland, park, or pasturage for deer. Two castles had formerly been attached to the bishopric, but they had been taken out of the hands of Robert de Betun in the middle of the last century; the nobles to whom they were given up by that timid prelate § were the Earl of Mellent

* Dors. ‖ 33.

† Squire John de Baseville was not at this time personally attendant, for we find him at Bosbury, May 6, buying a horse by order of my lord to replace one lost in the service some time before. Dors. ‖47 a.

‡ Tax. P. Nichol. p. 168 b.

§ He was probably in the same situation as Aquablanca afterwards with respect to the roving chieftains, and could not help himself. According to his biographer Betun took refuge in some religious houses, and in[a] the castles on the edge of his diocese, during the civil agitations of his times. Gilbert Foliot, who succeeded him, complains to Pope Eugenius, that having alienated four prebends from his church, and given them to his favourite priory of Lantony, *duo etiam castella ecclesiæ nostræ idem prædecessor noster nobilissimis viris Comiti de Mellent et Hugoni de Mortuomari magno ecclesiæ ipsius incommodo et detrimento concessit;* and he requests the interference of that pontiff to get them restored.

[a] At or near, for the phrase is ambiguous, *ad cœnobia religiosorum, ad castella parochialibus suis circumjecta terminis.* Vita Rob. Betun. Angl. Sacra, II. 314.

and Hugh de Mortimer. If, as is most probable, this castle was one of them, it must have been twice alienated and as often restored; for we have seen that Aquablanca lost it again * in the Barons' struggle against Henry III. Civil war and Cambrian invasion were, however, now for a while suspended in these parts, and it was again in possession of its rightful lord, who seems to have considered that one such edifice was quite enough to keep in repair.† In the adjacent borough he had a market; but it does not establish the impression of this being a well-provided place, that the baker should have brought yeast and salt with him, when he preceded the rest; and indeed their main supplies appear to have been drawn from Ludlow.‡

Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, being Rogation days, were kept as fasts. These were preliminary to the celebration of the Thursday commemorative of the Ascension of Our Lord, the crown of the festivals of the year, for which abundant preparation was made. Foliot, the messenger, went upon many errands at this time.§ As it is the last entertainment of the kind that falls in our way, Kemeseye shall himself once more detail the particulars:

‖ Thursday, on Ascension day, at the same place. Two quarters of flour baked from wheat bought from the manor for 6*s.* 8*d.* Wine already accounted for. In beer, 16*d.* Item, half a carcass of beef, 1 roe, 11 kids, presents already accounted for. In 1 carcass of beef, 6*s.* ½*d.* In 2 bacons from the manor, 3*s.* In 2 calves, 12*d.* In 19 geese, 4*s.* In 28 fowls, 12*d.* Item, 28 capons, 12 fowls, a present. Out of these remain, 1 bacon, 4 capons. Item, 1 side (or flitch), 1 hanch, 1 rump of Bosbury venison. Item, 2 sides 1 hanch of hart, 1 side of doe, 1 fresh deer, 1 roe, a present; and there remain 1 side of hart, 1 side of doe, 1 lean deer. In eggs, 10½*d.*, milk, 3½*d.*, bread (or flour), 3*d.*, charcoal, by the bailiff, 3*d.*, carriage of divers articles from Ludlow to the castle, by the bailiff, 7*d.*, wheat for the kitchen, by the bailiff, 1½*d.*, hay already reckoned for 34 horses; their feed, 2 quarters 3 bushels of oats, accounted

* Ante, p. xxii.

† Id. p. lxvii.

‡ Roll, May 10 and 11. The bailiff was obliged to buy hay. It was at the latter end of the season, when probably no dry horse-meat remained on hand at the castle. Id. May 8.

§ Dors. ‖ 30.

for. In 2 bushels of bran, 2*d*. In the carriage of one horse-load of wheat from Ludlow, 3*d*. In horse-shoeing and other things, 3*d*.* The sum, 26*s*. 1*d*.†

The great feature of this display is the venison, salted and fresh. As to the old, it had been dragged about with them in the whole of their round from Colwall hither, and was reserved to be produced at this time. As to the new, it is impossible to distinguish whether all or only part of it was a present from others, or had been killed by the keepers specially for the occasion on the manors of the castle and Lidbury North; the same remark, however, that has been made under April (p. clxviii) may not be inapplicable here, that they were not overscrupulous in observing the true seasons for taking it, but, being within reach of their favourite viand, were tempted to indulge in it. A feast is their usual prelude to a removal. Accordingly, a few hours after this successful effort at replenishing they shifted their quarters; and the walls of the castle returned to their tranquillity as the train of horsemen, carriages, and sumpters passed from its gate and took their way, May 12, to CLUNBURY, where Kemeseye cites the prior of the place as aiding them gratuitously with corn and hay.‡

Having attended the Bishop and his suite thus far, until Ascension day is past, we are reminded by the Endorsement, that, while he is thus occupied in diocesan affairs, other members of this patriarchal family, and persons in his employ, are transacting his business at a distance, in many quarters; and one in particular, who has been often brought under our notice, Thomas de la Dane. The variety and extent of his services have shewn that his was not an ordinary trust; neither were the sums of money small that he was called upon to disburse.§ Were payments to be made to bankers for remit-

* This last article shews their attention to what might have been still more needful had their journey been performed earlier in the year, or during the singularly rainy winter of 1289; for their line of road led them in part through a district watered by the river Clun, which lent its name to various places, whose miry character is sarcastically described in the rhyming proverb of these parts:

Clunbury, Clunton, Clungúnford, and Clun,
The dirtiest country under the sun.

† Roll, p. 83.

‡ He means the prior of Wenlock. Clunbury is unnoticed in the Taxation. It was some time a vicarage and belonged to Wenlock priory. Dugdale, Mon. V. pp. 74, 81.

§ They constitute no inconsiderable portion of the miscellaneous account. Some of them may be found from ‖ 1 to 6, 8, 13, 19, 20, 21, 23, 31, 55, 56, 60 b, &c.

tances abroad, to proctors at Rome, to the Bishop's nephew in France; were the workmen at Womenswould to be superintended and receive their wages; were various materials to be brought together for the buildings there; was the land to be duly cropped, and every thing set in order against the approach of autumn,—to his head and hand, as we have seen, it was chiefly consigned.* Moreover, he discharged a duty towards the establishment, that devolved upon the *camerarius* in monastic societies,† the care of providing all their clothing.‡ Not only did he buy the material, but he gave orders for the cutting-out and making-up of the different articles of wearing apparel, *(circa emptionem pannorum et præparationem robarum.)* § Thus he repeated in London, about Whitsuntide, for the warmer season, what he had done about the Epiphany for the winter half-year. A reference to particulars scattered through the sections shews that he came again in April, from Kent, to the vendors of cloths and furs for dresses and their trimmings, suitable for the summer wear of the household, and renewed his bargaining with the dealers in wax, almonds, and sugar.‖ He and Robert de Boclond, and John de Kingessuod, the head carter, who came up with the short cart, three men, and four horses, to convey these goods into the country, attended them to Sugwas about Whitsuntide;¶ and within a few days returned through Oxford with John de Sceluing, the rector of Ross, of whom mention will be made hereafter. Thomas afterwards went into Kent, and divers messages pass between him and his master. When Kingessuod and he give in their accounts, the reckoning of the carter is punctilious to a farthing; and De la Dane, though a beneficed clerk, apparently not scholar enough to make out the statement for himself, having had the command of his employer's purse to a large amount, falls short in a balance of no more than $2\frac{1}{2}d.$, in trifling matters forgotten and unaccounted for *(in quibusdam minutis et oblitis)*.** Such were some of those who were in the employ of Bishop Swinfield; to whom and his travelling party we return as they are proceeding from Clunbury, on the south of that part of Salop. At LEINTWARDINE they crossed the boundary

* Ante, p. cxiii.
† Nasmith's Tanner, pref. p. xviii.
‡ Ante, pp. cxxvii. cxxviii.
§ Dors. ‖ 13.
‖ Id. ‖ 6 b, 54 a, b.
¶ Id. ‖ 48, 56.
** Id. ‖ 26.

that separates it from Herefordshire, where from before the Conqueror's time the old Watling-street led from the one to the other county. The visitor inspected this church on his way, the last in that part of the deanery of Clun. It belonged to the abbey of Wigmore, to which, with several others, it had been given by their second founder, Sir Hugh de Mortimer; and the family cherished an affection for it in after times, and richly endowed the services that were celebrated there. In the following century nine chaplains chanted daily mass at its altars for the souls of Edward III., of Isabella his mother, and Philippa his queen, of Henry Bishop of Lincoln, the Earl of Lincoln, his countess Joan, and others, with all the faithful departed. The lands assigned for these comprehensive services were granted by Roger Earl of Mortimer, and were exempted by royal favour from the statute of mortmain.* The church contained a regularly appointed choir, with stalls yet remaining; thither the monks of Wigmore repaired in processions; and the abbat delivered an annual sermon on the festival of the Virgin, the patron saint.† It may be concluded that the reputation of this place was increased by the residence of an anchoritess, on whose self-denying poverty the Bishop, by an acceptable donation of twelve pence,‡ conferred a more substantial token of approval than by, what still might not have been withholden from her, his merely verbal blessing.

His next sojourn is at

WIGMORE, from May 14 to 17.

And here he touched upon the deanery of Leominster. On three of the above days he is the guest of the abbat by procuration. Sunday, the 15th, was employed in visiting the parish church; Monday was devoted to the abbey itself. He visited the canons *(visitavit canonicos loci)*, and very needful it might have been that he should do so. Existing documents tend to shew that some time ago there had been a necessity for this, and as the present was a triennial visitation, a question would na-

* Lib. Nig. de Wigmore, f. 49 b.

† Blakeway and Owen, II. p. 275. Wright, Hist. of Ludlow, p. 357.

‡ Dors. ‖ 34.

turally arise, how far sundry admonitions conveyed to them about three years before had taken permanent effect. In 1286 their affairs had been found in disorder, and the Bishop, in the performance of his duty as visitor, thought fit to point out to their superior certain irregularities that required amendment both in himself and those under his immediate care. A precept addressed to him, entitled, "Corrections of Wigmore," comprises these charges. Beginning with the lord abbat himself, "We find," he observes, "that, contrary to statute, he allows some of the brethren to engage in secular trading, forbidden to ecclesiastics, and especially to those among them who are professed; that every office of the house is burdened with useless numbers of attendants, some maintaining and causing to be maintained, out of the goods of the house, two brothers, some their cousins and nephews, some their own carnal sons, others very many strangers, who receive food and clothing, yet in no wise serve the house or church; and, if any one of this sort be removed, he is presently after brought back again; which things by connivance or consent the said lord abbat doth allow; also, whereas all, who are to be received as brethren, ought to be received as worthy and honest by common consent specially asked, simple folk and even idiots are admitted as brethren: also, that the sickly and infirm are not sufficiently supplied with what is necessary for them: also, that one Jenkin Liztfot (Lightfoot) by name, the usher, an invalid, reveals secret conversations of the brethren that he hears, not merely to the superiors and elders of the house, but even to secular persons, disturbing the peace among the brethren, and often stirring up strife among them: also, that the seats in the cloister, provided for the brethren who resort thither, are neither sufficient nor of the proper kind, but owing to their awkwardness the brethren on that account become sooner weary, give up looking into their books, and are driven to stroll about and walk off: also, that brother Richard, sub-prior of the house, with certain accomplices, has endeavoured to disturb the bond of charity among the brethren." These and other matters the Bishop strictly commands to be corrected in house, church, and chapter, ordaining that neither they nor any like them be in any wise for the future allowed. He then directs the abbat for the time being to govern the affairs of the house by advice of the more sensible persons in the convent, with all moderation, according to the form of his rule; gives some

instructions on the management of the sick, and exhorts one and all to obey those who are over them, intrusting to the abbat the carrying out of these corrections, and requiring a report from him, whenever called upon to give an account of what he had done in the premises.* This return, if ever called for, has not been recorded; but the present was of course an opportunity for further inquiry.

Now, as abbat Adam was advanced in years, and probably even at this time not altogether equal to hold the reins of government, it would not be strange if in such a case the head of an unruly community should in many respects have become too passive for his office, and, degenerating into an "abbat of misrule," have suffered such abuses to take root among them, as he had neither the energy to resist or reform. However this may have been, the time was not far off when, by his own admission, he was no longer able to stay at the helm. About three years after, in July 1293, when another visitation came round, he complained of being so worn out with age and infirmity that he could neither take care of his own person nor the bodily and spiritual infirmities of others; and therefore intreated that he might be released from his charge. The Bishop, commending his good qualities and deserving conduct up to that time, professed a general disapproval of resignation, yet that his inability might be no longer injurious to those who were under him, issued a commission to Master William de Kingescote, his ordinary, to inquire and report upon the case, and, if true, upon his resignation to cause an apartment, with a sufficient maintenance out of the abbey, to be secured to him and his attendants Adam accordingly withdrew, and John de Erleslon' (Eardisland?) was chosen in his room,† but before another cycle of three years was completed John in his turn earnestly and repeatedly petitioned to be released. His plea rested upon insufficiency to support the burden of his dignity, and a desire in future for a contemplative life. About the beginning of 1296 he too retired, and great attention was paid to his comfortable provision within the convent.‡ They had now two pen-

* Reg. Swinf. f. 38 b. † Reg. Swinf. ff. 84 b, 116 a, b.

‡ His popularity among them, or their anxiety to secure his abdication, is indirectly expressed in the minute attention to his wants, and even comforts, set forth in the order for his maintenance. It was voted unanimously that he should have the chamber next

sionary abbats upon their roll, when John de Wytton, or Wylton, undertook the office. He too appears to have been an incompetent ruler. For in three years after his election a dispute had broken out between him and the brethren, when the house was once more visited and corrected; and a council of six elders of the fraternity was appointed to assist him.* These seem to have turned against him whom they were called in to support; and in 1300 the Bishop interposed to establish the abbat's claim to rents of which they attempted to deprive him.† About this time Wytton left them, and Walter de Ludlow, chosen from among them, came into office, only soon to throw it up again.‡ Then Philip de Waleys, or Galeys, in 1302, undertook this difficult government, and for a while appears to have been more successful in it than those who for the last ten years or more preceded him. He remained with them during the rest of Swinfield's episcopacy; but the leaven of mismanagement, or insubordination, was still at work, and in 1318 they were in sad confusion. Not all the religious privi-

to the chapel of the blessed Mary, with another chamber thereunto adjoining, and the little plot of ground called the "Herbary." And for his help and comfort he was to have one of the canons, a non-obedientiary[a] in the house, of his own choosing, removable at his pleasure to choose another. They were to have in daily food and clothing as much as two other canons received by the year; to be under no obligation to attend in choir or convent against their inclination, nor hindered from so doing when it was their desire; to have one servant to wait upon them, whose food and clothing, provided by the monastery, should be the same as that of the abbat's groom. Should brother Adam, his predecessor, depart this life, the said John was thenceforth to receive from the abbey his yearly salary of forty shillings, by half-yearly payments at Michaelmas and Lady Day, over and above one mark, which he was to receive annually to purchase necessaries at the festival of Christmas. And for his need (as afore-stated in p. cxxxvii) he was to have a mortar or cresset burning by night in the aforesaid chamber, with firing and candles, and his expenses for repair of the walls and roof of his dwelling, and all other little necessaries, such as utensils, table-cloths and towels, and such things as are wanted for the support of human life,—the canons reserving to themselves the power of adding to or diminishing, correcting and interpreting, this ordinance, as they should hereafter think fit for the honour of God, and the advantage of the abbey, and of John their brother. The instrument is dated at Bosbury, April 16, 1296. Reg. Swinf. f. 116 a.

* Reg. Swinf. f. 126 b. † Id. f. 129 b.

‡ Id. f. 135 a. He had been some time precentor, and one of the council above mentioned. Wright, Hist. of Ludlow, p. 195.

[a] *i. e.* holding no office in the house.

leges that they enjoyed, nor the wealth of the estates that fed them,* nor the generous protection and encouragement of the princely race by which they had been founded and endowed, could turn them aside from that desperate course of anarchy and disobedience that had so frequently disgraced them. They wanted a severer castigator than Swinfield had ever been to them, and in Orleton they ultimately found one. His letter sent to them in 1318 indignantly seizes the point of ingratitude for benefits received, and administers a sharp rebuke for the utter disorder into which that house had fallen through neglect of the rules of discipline, and the malice or perverseness *(malitia)* of those that dwelt therein. "On the morrow after St. Nicholas' day," he tells them, "I will visit in head and members that monastery of yours, which the Lord hath blessed of old in the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth" He was true to his word. Philip de Galeys abdicated.† The Bishop took the next appointment of the abbat into his own hands, and nominated John de Clehonger, prior of Wormesley, in his place; two of the rebellious canons were banished for a season to other monasteries, to undergo a course of salutary penance, and a thorough reform ensued.‡

The strange conduct of this disorderly house has tempted us far out of our course, and it is time to recede from an advance of nearly thirty years. In his personal inquiries into the state of monastic establishments, a visitor would sometimes employ his attendants to relieve him by taking part in

* Sir Roger de Mortimer is said to have given them some of the richest of his land, called "The treasure of Mortimer." There was nothing near them, land, meadow, pasture, nor moor, that had not been given to the abbey by that family. Hist. of the Foundation of Wigmore Abbey. Wright, ut supra, pp. 131, 132.

† Provision was made for him, as usual, in his retirement. Among other things, he is to have his choice of the painted or the dark-coloured chamber for his lodging. *Pro habitatione sua assignamus cameram depictam in Abbatia quam frater Johannes de Erleslon' quondam abbas inhabitavit dum vixit, aut nigram cameram quam frater Johannes de Weston quondam occupavit dum vixit.* Reg. Orleton, 27 b, 28 a.

‡ Reg. Orl. ff. 23 b, 25 a, 27 b, 28 a. Other religious establishments became disordered from wilful extravagance, or were distressed by inevitable failure of their means: it does not appear that this abbey was labouring under pecuniary embarrassment; their income was £107. 19*s*. 9½*d*. The probability is that they suffered from the wantonness of prosperity.

the examinations;* and, besides this, they formed useful or important witnesses of any transaction that required such confirmation. In his present company he had to assist him Masters John de Cantuaria and Adam de Wakehurst, Sirs John de Kemeseye and William de Morton, chaplains, and Robert de Selling, clerk. On the 14th of May, in this abbey of Wigmore, and before these persons specially assembled for the purpose, the Bishop went through the ceremony of collating an absentee to a prebend in the church of Hereford, by instituting his proxy to it with the episcopal ring, one of those symbolical deliveries of possession called in law "livery of seisin," leaving nothing to complete the investiture but corporeal possession. The prebend—it was that of Hinton—had become void by the death of Hugh de Muster' either late on the preceding night or early in the morning, and immediate intelligence seems to have been forwarded to Wigmore, that no time might be lost in securing it, as far as possible, for Sir John de Sceluing, the rector of Ross, who was then at Oxford. The haste with which this affair was conducted arose unquestionably from a desire to obviate any intrusion from another quarter by papal provision.†

Letters of provision, to which we have before adverted,‡ had long been a source of great dissatisfaction. Grosseteste had long ago protested against such reversionary grants, and extorted from the then pontiff an apology and promise that the evil should be redressed;§ but those who came after him continued the practice, and it had grown more offensive than ever. The vexation may be said to have been now at its height, and it was kept up by foreign ecclesiastics and others who had facilities of access to Rome.

* Swinfield did so in his visitation of Leominster in 1283. Reg. Swinf. f. 5 a. Bishop Grosseteste gives an interesting account of his method of visiting, and the employment of his auxiliaries, in a speech before the pope and cardinals in 1250. Anglia Sacra, II. pp. 347, 348.

† Those who held papal letters were in a hurry to get beforehand. A clerk thus armed once met Bishop Orleton on his way, in a meadow between Godstow and Oxford, and exhibited his credentials on the spot. *Memorandum quod* 14° *die mensis Maii, anno domini* M°.CCC°.xviij. *Magister Johannes Lugwardyn, comparens coram domino Adamo Episcopo Herefordensi in prato inter Godestow et Oxoniam, exhibuit eidem literas apostolicas super gratia sibi facta de beneficio ecclesiastico spectante ad collationem Episcopi Herefordensis.* Reg. Orleton, f. 21 a.

‡ P. lxx. § Life, Pegge, pp. 198, 199.

Among the persons of that class who had gained footing in the diocese of Hereford were two brothers, already mentioned,* Peter and Pontius de Cors,† nephews of dean Aquablanca, and portionists of Bromyard from the time of Cantilupe. He had cited them, with others, for non-residence; and called them up for contumacy in his days of diocesan reform.‡ Pontius had applied for papal letters,§ presenting the prebend of Hinton to him on the demise of the existing possessor; and whenever that should occur, he was ready to act upon them. Accordingly, on the morning of the 18th of May, before Sceluing had arrived to be installed, he repaired by stealth to the cathedral, and without any intimation to the canons, excepting one who was in league with him, caused himself to be installed, in the presence of witnesses, by that canon, John de Pouns,‖ in the place that had been occupied by the late Hugh de Muster'.. Some members of the chapter who found him there protested against the illegality of what he had done, and warned him to retire; but he persisted in keeping possession, and called others of his party, who came armed to his aid: and these continued to secure it for him till the morrow, no one seemingly daring to interfere.¶ On the next day, with the same effrontery, he entered the chapter-house, and took his place there with the customary ceremonies of investiture, a book presented to him as the type of spirituals, a loaf or piece of bread as that of temporal occupation; and he made oath that he would faithfully keep the customs and statutes of the church of Hereford. Issuing thence he went to the houses

* Ante, p. clxxi.

† He is also styled, perhaps sarcastically, *Pontius de Burgundia*, in the Register, f. 65 b. The Burgundians were no favourites in Hereford. See ante, p. clxxxii, note *.

‡ In 1277. Reg. Cantil. f. 37 a.

§ They were called *Gratiæ expectativæ*, or *mandata de providendo*. Pegge, ut supra. And were of two kinds, provisory and executory, the one nominating an incumbent, the other enforcing the appointment.

‖ A bold disorderly freak of this foreign canon, Pouns, is subsequently placed upon record. He resisted the Bishop's official in holding a court in the church of Wellington, and was brought to make his submission at Bosbury, April 22, 1296, and fined twenty pounds. Reg. Swinf. f. 116 b. He held the prebend of Wellington. Willis, p. 603.

¶ Such forbearance had not been always shewn. The cathedral of Hereford had witnessed strange desecrating scenes. In April, 1272, Roger de Bosbury, the penitentiary, in full choir attacked Peter de Langona, and dragged him by main force from his stall. Reg. Swinf. f. 70 a.

and lands annexed to the stall, and received from the tenants their oaths of fealty and homage to him as prebendary of Hinton and their lord.*

The audacity of these proceedings sufficiently marks the confusion and contempt of episcopal jurisdiction that were the natural result of such intervention by a foreign potentate. It was a system of the court of Rome to depress the rights and authority of the prelates, and this was part of it. Hereford was not the only cathedral and diocese that suffered from it. York and Lincoln experienced similar attacks, rendered particularly oppressive through some severe executions of provisions under papal sanction by a cardinal who enforced them. The King of England, and several of the nobility, united in remonstrances to the see. The pope replied, disavowing any intention of disrespect towards his majesty, but asserting his right in what he had done. The plea on which the custom had been originally founded was the prevention of any mischief accruing to churches or other benefices from long vacancies. There was a shew of wisdom and consideration in disposing of them beforehand; but the preventing antidote became worse than the anticipated disease. For the right of every kind of patron, ecclesiastical or lay, the private person, the monastery, the bishop, the sovereign himself, was invaded. Benefices were filled with the young and the illiterate, with incumbents whose abode was in other countries, or who, if they came into residence in England, were useless as parish priests and pastors from ignorance of the language of the people. All this ultimately provoked the statute *de provisoribus*,† in which the encroachment is denounced in the severest terms, and the illegality of it proclaimed; and in the reign of Richard II. it was made high treason to obtain a provision without a license from the crown.‡

The family of Aquablanca appear to have been alarmed at this trick of their relation. The dean of Hereford solicited and obtained letters of protection from the king for two years, longer continuance at Rome; and Peter, the portionist of Bromyard, procured a license of the same kind, for the same term, in foreign parts.§

* App. No. XXV. † 25 Edw. III. ante, p. xvi. ‡ Collier, III. pp. 113, 203, 204.

§ Rot. Pat. 18 Edw. I. Swinfield granted him leave of absence, Oct. 12, 1290, to study for one year at Orleans, provided the duties of his benefice were discharged, and the cure not neglected. Reg. Swinf. f. 68 a.

Whether the bishop was really taken by surprise in this affair, or how soon he was informed of what had occurred, is not exactly discoverable. His own conduct at Wigmore looks as if he had some suspicion of being thwarted, though he might not have calculated upon the extent of the attempt. We are almost as much in the dark as to the measures that he adopted on the spur of the occasion. What in such a dilemma was a patron, especially an ecclesiastic of high rank, to do? He could not directly set up his own authority against his spiritual superior, whom he had pledged himself to obey. All had not the courage of Grosseteste; and no opposition might be of any real avail. If a moral objection, or charge of legal disability, could be established against the individual who had so offended, the provincial court of Canterbury was open to a suit. This had been the course taken by the abbat of Peterborough with one William Campyun, a provisor, who claimed in 1281 to be admitted to one of the livings in the gift of that house.* The conduct of Pontius had been reprehensible and offensive in the extreme. To have obtained his letters surreptitiously, though in this he stood not alone, was enough to incur Swinfield's just displeasure: to have acted upon them by force without presenting them to his ordinary, and in defiance of him and the chapter of Hereford, was to have increased the outrage tenfold. Swinfield too had this on his side, that his adversary had encroached upon his authority and violated the law of the church. He could refuse to admit him upon this score; with the concurrence of the chapter he could probably have stopped the rents of the prebend of Hinton. These might form the ground of his resistance. In any case, he by some means contrived for several months to baffle the scheme of the intruder; and, though not without misgiving, had a cordial will to have held on to the uttermost, if his own expressions may be taken as an index of his mind. Writing to his primate, who appears to have given him some encouragement, he opens his heart to him: "Would that our poor ability, which at this time† is scarcely

* The bishop of the diocese was, however, in favour of Campyun. The proceedings may be seen in Chron. Petroburg. Camd. Soc. edit. pp. 47—51, 79—95. Four or five clerks had already been presented to benefices of that abbey by letters provisory, and three or four others were waiting for vacancies when the abbat made a stand against this wholesale disposal by the pope of what he chose to claim as his own.

† His letter is dated Sept. 1, 1290. Reg. Swinf. f. 66 a.

sufficient to offer moderate resistance to the manifold assaults of provisors, that are plotting to rob our church of Hereford of its ancient rights, could by the help of God attain to such a pitch of strength that, according to your mandate, we could strive even to death for that justice of which we firmly believe you to be a friend." Pontius, who it seems on his part had commenced a suit, was backed by a higher power; but Swinfield abated not an inch of his authority, and so far gained his end.

This is proved by the event, of which we have a distinct relation. Like other controversies into which the bishop was forced, the dispute was closed by mutual arrangement: the offender humbled himself, and the prelate gave way. It stands upon record, in public acts drawn up on the spot by a notary, that on the 8th of January, 1290, Sir Pontius de Cors, professor of civil law, appeared personally before the venerable father, Richard, Lord Bishop of Hereford, sitting judicially in his hall at Sugwas, and then and there publicly and solemnly, before witnesses assembled on either side, for all the injuries committed by him and his against his lord, by reason of his intrusion into the prebend of Hinton, did absolutely, sincerely, and of his own free will, submit himself and utterly resign into the hands of his said lord all right that he had, or believed he had in the said prebend, with all letters and instruments provisory, processes, and all other taken or to be taken in that behalf; and did humbly and devotedly beseech him to accept his submission and resignation, and give order concerning all things according to his good pleasure; and his lord, at the urgent intreaty of Master Roger de Sevenak, canon of Hereford, and the Archdeacon of Hereford, allowed his submission and resignation, openly recited them, and directed, with the assent of Pontius, that the whole should be inserted in a public instrument. After which he collated him to the prebend out of charitable regard, and confirmed it by his letters patent. This is the substance of sundry documents given in the APPENDIX, No. XXV. containing all particulars of the ceremony, and the ratification of Pontius by the delivery of a glove and a solemn oath.

These were the crooked paths by which this unworthy, perhaps needy,* adventurer won and secured his stall. He died possessed of it in 1298.*

* Reg. Swinf. f. 121 b.

As for Sceluing he was collated to the prebend of Pyon before the end of the month; it came opportunely in point of time, but in value it was very inferior to that which had been wrested from him: the kind Bishop, however, paid the expenses of his journey from Oxford to take possession;* and it was not long ere he exchanged that canonry for a better.

As the papal court was always open to applications, and the Anglican and other clergy were constantly resorting to Rome, every stall in the gift of the Bishop was exposed to secret invasion; and those whom he employed of necessity as resident proctors became dangerous auxiliaries, through the facility with which they could advance their own interests against him. Confidence was of course undermined by the uncertainty whether the delegate who was acting for him would prove himself superior to temptation. A clause expressive of the feeling thus generated was inserted in the oath of fidelity administered to every one who left England in this capacity, declaring that he would do nothing during his absence at Rome to prejudice the interest of his master. Richard de Pudlesdon, in 1290, took the oath, and fell into the snare, violated his engagement, and failed in his object as he deserved. When he sent over his proxies with the letters provisory that he had obtained, Swinfield admitted him on their application pro forma, not without some hesitation: afterwards, however, when he returned from Italy, the Bishop brought him to surrender in person; and appears finally to have withheld from him what he had so surreptitiously obtained.† The perseverance of the popes in this annoyance, during the lifetime of Swinfield, may be traced in the provisionary disposal of several prebends belonging to the church of Hereford. The experiment, however, did not always succeed. William Carter, chaplain of Aka, was excommunicated in 1300 for some fraudulent attempt of this kind, and was only absolved and restored upon his submission and oath that he would abstain from molesting the Bishop in future.‡

We left the party at the abbey of Wigmore, where Swinfield had continued three days at the cost of the house; on the fourth he was at his own. On May 17 he came to RICHARD'S CASTLE, south of Ludlow, and in that deanery. Hugh de Mortimer was lord of the manor and patron of the

* Dors. ‖ 9 † APP. IV. 3. ‡ Reg. Swinf. f. 131 b.

living; but he was a minor and orphan ward of the King, and with his brother had in October last been received at court, and entered upon the list of attendants at a regular allowance.* In 1285, during this wardship, his majesty had presented Ralph de Midlington to the rectory of Richard's Castle: it was rated at £23. 6*s*. 8*d*. The incumbent gave hay and corn. The next halt was in the deanery of Leominster, at

EYE, May 18 and 19.

Here he obtained unwelcome conviction of the attempt that Pontius de Cors had been making in the exhibition of his papal letters. The provision was dated at Santa Maria Maggiore so recently as the second of March preceding, and the letter of William bishop of Amiens, the executor of it, at the Lateran on the twenty-fifth of that month.† Thus far the authority under which Pontius had acted, though illegally exercised, was not to be questioned; but it could not affect the liberty that Swinfield had to dispose of the prebendal house that had been occupied by the late Hugh de Muster', as canon of Hinton. This, as it were to shew his displeasure, he instantly gave to his seneschal, Sir William de Mortimer, with instructions to his bailiff to induct him.‡ At Eye they were joined by William the under groom, who came up from Colwall, where he had been attending upon a sick palfrey. In October he had been left behind, on the same service, at Bosbury, where a farrier resided who undertook the cure of several of the household horses.§ It is probable that by this arrival the Bishop was re-mounted for the rest of his journey. Here, on the octave of the Ascension, a harper played before him and received a reward.‖ Among the minor articles of expenditure is one which indicates that the smiths attached to the train hired tools and forges for their use upon the road. Trout may be observed among the fresh-water fish in their repasts on Friday the 19th;

* Their allowance, including that of a tutor, was 22½*d*. per day. Lib. Hospit. in Turr. Lond. 18 Edw. I.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 65 b.

‡ Reg. Swinf. f. 64 a. The concluding words of the form used in such cases have in this instance a pertinent signification. *Scripsit ipso die ballivo suo quod ipsum in corporalem possessionem induceret, et inductum defenderet.* The duty was customarily discharged by the bailiff of Barton manor.

§ Dors. ‖ 24. ‖ Dors. ‖ 34, where for *Hōμ'* read *Hāμ'*.

at this time they would be in season, and abundant in the waters of this country. The church of Eye was in the deanery of Leominster, and belonged to the priory of that name; but the proceeds were paid to the abbey of Reading, for a reason that will presently appear; and the latter were now the patrons. These appropriators derived from it an income of £45. 6*s*. 8*d*. The acting vicar only £4. 6*s*. 8*d*. It often happened that appropriators, where they could, threw the burdens of visitations on their vicar. They did it here in part, for he supplied the horses with hay. Where their corn came from, the house-steward was unable or did not choose to tell; all the remark made upon it is that it was a present from some other quarter *(aliunde)*, on both the days of their sojourning here. The priory or abbey should have furnished it; but both these houses were straitened in their resources. Adam de Wakehurst had the vicarage in 1282; and it will be remembered that he was one of those who were in the abbey of Wigmore, among the witnesses of the ineffective collation and investiture of John de Sceluing. From the parish of Eye they proceeded to

Leominster, May 20 and 21.

The town was distinguished by its lofty church and Benedictine priory. In the former, on which Saxon and Norman and Earlier English art had spared no cost, the Christians of many centuries had found a resting-place; it was also remarkable for the number of its relics,* and had a noted sanctuary for offenders. The priory, as it now existed, was a royal foundation, attached as a cell to the great abbey of Reading. This annexation had

* Swinfield's own account of it is, *Locus ille ab antiquissimo tempore religionis est sacer, ubi etiam multa corpora et sanctorum reliquiæ requiescunt.* Reg. Swinf. f. 32 b. A list of the relics is extant in his register. Among the sepulchral remains in their possession were those of two Saxon kings and martyrs; and in the catalogue of their relics, besides many more, were enumerated the following: a portion of the linen that was wrapped around the body of our Lord—of the sponge used at his crucifixion—of the rod of Moses—one of the stones with which St. Stephen was stoned—some of the frankincense and myrrh offered by the magi—of the soil of Bethlehem and Gethsemane. They had also in safe keeping, written, as it is described, in ancient characters, that section of the Book of Domesday which relates to Leominster and the surrounding parts, beginning with, *Rex tenet Leominstre*, &c. and ending with *ij dies in ebdomada operantur.* A transcript of this fragment, together with what relates to the relics, was thought of sufficient importance to be placed in Bishop Swinfield's Register, f. 36 bis a. The printed edition of the Norman Survey, f. 180 a, b, corresponds very closely with it.

been, however, of comparatively recent date. If any place appropriated to religious uses in these parts could pretend to high antiquity it was this foundation. Coeval with the introduction of the gospel among the Saxons of Mercia in the seventh century, it had passed through many phases of transmutation, and had undergone severe reverses since it was first as a monastery dedicated to Saint Peter. Wasted by the Danes, inhabited alternately by nuns and canons, seized into lay hands, and lastly restored by Henry I., it formed a substantial auxiliary to his favourite house of Reading. This alliance might appear to increase its consequence; but in another view was seriously to its disadvantage. No country could be more richly gifted than that in which it stood. Fertilising streams passed through the valley and town; one of them, the Pinsley, through the priory itself, in the same manner as a small arm of the Dore through the monastery of that name.* They had the profits of the manor and borough, rents of assize, pleas and perquisites, tolls and fairs, and services of villeins. In the return of their annual proceeds there is one item of a hundred waggon-loads of hay. The great manor comprised several valuable grazing farms, whose sheep produced those fleeces that seller and buyer honoured, if not now at least in after times, with the appellation of "Leominster ore." Not one of them but had upon the list of its domestics a shepherd *(bercarius)*, a herdsman *(vaccarius)*, and a dairy-maid *(daya, androchia)*.† The bread from their wheat was long proverbial; and the generous quality of their land went far to realise the figurative expression of holy writ, as "flowing with milk and honey—the glory of all lands."‡ For every purpose of devotion and beneficence for which they had been established and endowed, though Reading engrossed the greater part of their income, they had more than enough to have set them forth as a bright example and

* Leland, Itin. IV. Pt. 2, pp. 48, 88.

† Leiger book of Leominster Priory, Coningsby MSS. f. 4.

‡ Ezek. xx. 6. In the cartulary of Reading Abbey, MSS. Cotton. Domit. A. III. f. 249b, is a note respecting tenants of Leominster priory, who were to pay in honey. *De melle. Nomina eorum qui habent solvere mel ibidem. Dominus Edmundus de Cornwayle iij lagen'. Walterus de Hayle iij lagen'. Tenens terræ Dodeman ij lagen' et dimid'. Tenens terræ Johannis atte Assch ij lagen' et dimid'. Tenens terræ fabri j lagen' di'. Tenens terræ Willielmi Hugges iij quartas. Tenens Symonis Hikemon j lagenam et dimid'. Tenens terram* (sic) *Johannis de Wolleford iiij lagen' et dimid' q'. Summa* 19 *lagen' et dimid'.*

public blessing. But they lost the high standing that they had or should have occupied; and it is to be feared that they had not recovered it. They had been dissolute and negligent, and were involved in debt. The latter fault might in a measure have arisen from the extravagance of the greater house to which they were linked, and with which they were compelled to sympathise; but they were answerable for serious debts and delinquencies of their own. In the fourth year of Edward I. (1276) Reading was so burdened that the King by his sovereign prerogative issued patents of protection to prevent their ruin, and ordered the revenues* of the cell of Leominster to be annually applied to the liquidation of their debts, allowing the dean (or prior) and chaplains competent necessaries as to food and clothing, and a sufficiency to bestow alms upon poor mendicants, according to the charters of their founders.* This application of the finances of the cell was still in operation. Out of a rental of £303. 3*s.* they were paying £240 to the creditors of the abbey, reserving £63. 3*s.* for their own yearly maintenance.† By royal mandate they had been directed to retrench all superfluities; but it is very questionable whether this had been or continued to be obeyed; though it is evident that, unless they had submitted to a lower scale of living than that to which they had formerly been accustomed,‡ they must have become involved in difficulties. In one thing they had economised, but it was a step in the wrong direction, and laid them open to the censure of the canon law.§ They had diminished the number of monks, and curtailed the services of the church; but this with them was not the only cause of popular discredit and episcopal animadversion.‖ In 1280, when Stephen was dean, Bishop Cantilupe, who had more than once

* Reg. Cantil. f. 8 a, b. It is doubtful to what extent their revenues were taken into the common stock of Reading previous to this order.

† Tax. P. Nichol. p. 173.

‡ A list of the servants of the house in the Leiger book (Coningsby MSS.) brings them up to thirty; and they were probably not always mindful of an important clause in the oath that was required of every one on his admission. *Ye shall behaue your room or office with all true demeanyng, without wast or destruccion, as nere as ye can.* MSS. Cotton. Domit. A. III. f. 45 a.

§ By a constitution of Othobon no monastery was allowed to diminish the number of its monks. Lyndwood, p. 151, col. 1, 2.

‖ In 1275 and 1276. Reg. Cantil. f. 17 a, b, 28 a, b.

reproved them, ordered the removal of the sub-dean for scandalous behaviour, and was opposed by the rest of the convent, who instigated their friends at Reading to shelter them by appealing to the protection of the King, their hereditary founder, a method too frequently adopted to avoid the lash of diocesan correction. The abbats of Reading insisted upon the exclusive right of placing or displacing the members of their cell independent of the controul of the Bishop. The question had been before the court of Rome,* and Swinfield at length admitted the validity of their pretensions,† though he continued to exercise the power of visitation. Soon after his appointment, in 1283, he inquired closely into their manner of life. John Geraud, the dean, was a person of a most abandoned character, who some time after was removed. But several charges of unamended offences were brought against them at the next visitation in 1286, for the existence of which the abbat and convent of Reading, assuming the right of correction, were to blame. "Weary of his life," as he says, "through the disgrace of these scandals in the diocese of Hereford," Swinfield wrote severally to that dignitary, and to his prior and the brethren, to interpose before he renewed any inquiry. For the number of monks had not been filled up according to law; the services were insufficiently performed; almsgiving was laid aside; the people of the town were excluded from their parish church; agreements and solemn contracts, by which they had pledged themselves under penalties, were disregarded.‡ What followed upon these remonstrances, or whether any satisfaction had been given upon these matters, when they now appeared before him, is passed over in his register, and is foreign to the general tenor of the roll; but with the place and church, and days of visitation, no prior is brought in by Kemeseye as tendering gift or procuration. The omission may have been undesigned and unimportant; but, after what has been related, let it not be thought invidious to point out that it appears only casually in the Endorsement that there was such a personage as the lord prior of a house like that of Leominster, because he happened to have a carter who was lent to the Bishop for some

* Reg. Swinf. f. 3 a.

† He confirmed it in 1285, on an inspeximus of a charter of Hugh, Bishop of Hereford, in which it is expressly laid down. Id. f. 30 a.

‡ Reg. Swinf. ff. 32 b, 33 a, 38 b.

days, and received sixpence for his attendance;* as though, if it had not been for the service of this menial, his master might not have been mentioned at all.

At the rectories of KINGSLAND, May 22, and PEMBRIDGE, May 23, 24, they were entertained by procuration. The value of the former was £20, of the latter £26. 13*s.* 4*d.*;† they were both in the deanery of Leominster. Kingsland seems to have been their nearest point of approach to the nunnery of Limebrook, in the parish of Lingen. And hence it probably was that the Bishop sent a pittance to the poor sisters about this Whitsuntide.‡ Throughout his course he continues to scatter alms by the way-side as he moves along.§ Wednesday, the 24th, was a day of rest at Pembridge, spent in a visit not of office but of courtesy. This place, it appears, was the residence of the noble lady Matilda de Mortimer, known among her contemporaries by the more familiar appellation of Maud of Radnor, where she had a castle upon the lands of her inheritance, which had been burnt in 1263 by Llywelyn and De Montfort in the barons' war. She was a female chieftain of great influence and authority in these parts, owner of many manors, the patroness of many churches, and, among the rest, this of Pembridge, which she had presented to her relative Hugh de Braose in 1287.‖

This lady is entitled to more than a nominal notice. By birth she was of no ordinary descent, being a Braose by her father's, and a Marshall by her mother's side; and her alliance with the family of Mortimer formed a triple link in her worldly consequence. She had acted a very conspicuous part with her late husband, Roger de Mortimer, in the civil struggles of the former reign: and it hardly admits of a doubt that to her, as an instrument among many, the present King was indebted for his throne. She is suspected to have been the lady from whom Edward, a captive in Hereford, received the present of that swift steed¶ on which he outstripped his keepers

* Dors. ‖ 34.

† Tax. P. Nichol. p. 159.

‡ Dors. ‖ 34.

§ Roll, April 16, May 2, 8, 10, 16, 18, 25, 31.

‖ Reg. Swinf. f. 40 b.

¶ An historian, who seems to have had good information as to the events of the time, appears to intimate this:

A swift stede þer was a lady þider sent,
Edward knowe his pas, þe last of alle him hent,
Asaied him up and doun, swiftest he was of alle.

Langtoft, Chron. Hearne, I. p. 219.

in the race at Widemarsh, and came in safety to the castle of Wigmore, her abode. Neither can it be forgotten, that when the murderous fray at Evesham* was over, in which the Earl of Leicester was slain, his gory head was sent as a present to her in that castle.† If no one has ventured to assure us that, like Herodias, she coveted the ghastly and disgusting proof that her adversary was laid low, or that she contemplated that cruel and indecent exhibition with pleasure; it is almost impossible to escape from the conclusion that her friends, in the intoxication of success, must have thought such an accompaniment of the news of victory would not be unacceptable to her. And this, according to modern notions, has no tendency to impress us with an idea of the preponderance of delicacy in the composition of her character. But those days had long past away. We view her now in the decline of life, a widow, resident among her own people, the hospitable entertainer of her wayfaring diocesan, in whose retinue one of her relatives was engaged as seneschal. Her husband had been dead more than eight years. She is said to have survived him nineteen.‡ Her obit was kept on March 16, in the cathedral of Hereford, where she had given some of the finest vestments to the high altar.§

Her consequence in this border country is deducible from the fact, that during the insurrection of Rhys ap Meredydd she received a command, in July 1287, to continue resident on her demesnes till that rising should be suppressed;‖ and was required to levy upon them, and send to the army

* Robert of Gloucester's indignant expression respecting this affair is well known:

"*The morthre of Evesham, vor bataile non it vas.*"

† Some say it was sent to her at Worcester. It is more likely, while the country was swarming with troops, that she was in her strong hold at Wigmore, and that the head was sent thither through Worcester. The researches of Messrs. Blaauw (Hist. of the Barons' War. 4to. Lond. 1844), and Halliwell (Chron. of Will. de Rishanger. Camd. Soc. Edit. 1840), by their valuable accumulation of particulars, form a most acceptable contribution to this portion of English history.

‡ Dugdale, Baron. I. pp. 142, 143. She was living in September 1309, when she presented John de Walwyn to the rectory of Old Radnor. Reg. Swinf. f. 166 b.

§ Kalendar of Obits, p. 8.

‖ Rhys ap Meredydd returned from Ireland this year, 1290, where he had found refuge three years, renewed his attempt to excite his countrymen, was taken prisoner, and executed about the time when the king went to Scotland. Warrington, Hist. of

collecting under Gilbert de Clare to oppose the Welsh, a contingent of three hundred able-bodied footmen, *potentes ad arma.**

A mere keeper of accounts like Kemeseye, useful as he may be to transmit certain kinds of information, is in his method of conveying it one of the most humble and meagre contributors to memoir or history. He rarely gives more than the noun or the numeral; and, if he advances to the verb, you get very little further with him. He is almost always in the pantry or cellar, among the dishes, or in the stable. It cannot however be helped. In this part of our narrative it would have been interesting to have been able to relate something of the manners of this noble lady, the ceremony with which she welcomed her honoured guest, the order of her household, and style of the entertainment that she set before him; but Kemeseye has limited us to the barren statement, that this day my lord was boarded by invitation with Lady Matilda de Mortimer. *Fuit dominus in mensa cum domina Matilda de Mortuomari ad rogatum.*

In the mean while it is but doing justice to observe their attention to the minor morals and decencies of life on an occasion like this. The laundress was had in requisition while they were here.†

Proceeding from Pembridge westward, and continuing in the same deanery, they approached the county of Radnor, and entered it, May 25, at PRESTEIGN, of which the abbey of Wigmore held the appropriation. The vicar newly presented ‡ was Roger de Kingslone (Kingsland): his income was £8; the great tithes were £17. 6*s.* 8*d.* § The abbat gave them hay and corn. Materials for horse-shoeing were obtained here, and food was bought for dogs; but it is not conceived that the pack formed part of the equipage on this expedition. When it is over, and the household settle for awhile, these will be brought into use again.

Wales, pp. 547, 548. It was part of the policy of Edward to transport into England and hold in fast keeping such of the Welsh nobility as it might be dangerous to have left at home. The Countess of Pembroke, in one of her journeys, met with the sister of Rhys, and kindly made her a present of three shillings. Pembroke Roll. Owen, son of Dafydd ap Gruffydd, was now lingering in confinement in Bristol Castle, where in 16 Edw. I. his brother died. Archæol. Journal, VII. p. 262.

* Rot. Walliæ, 15 Edw. I. m. g. in dorso. Palgrave, Parliam. Writs, I. pp. 252 et seq.

† Dors. ‖ 48. ‡ He was instituted Dec. 17, 1289. Vide ante, p. cxv.

§ Tax. P. Nichol. p. 159 b.

The baker and porter were despatched to secure accommodation at Old Radnor, whither they came May 26. There was no lack of fish, salted and fresh. Even the mackarel found its way thus far inland; with such tardy means of transportation it is hardly conceivable that this fish could come to the hands of the cook in an eatable condition, unless it had been partially cured. Yet they had it frequently at table during this and the following fortnight. At Old Radnor no incumbent, rector, or vicar, was at his post. Nicholas, a chaplain or curate, sent them a gift of hay and oats; it is, however, entered as an unusual circumstance, three days after, that they paid for putting up the horses *(pro stabulagio)*.* The church, the last visited in the deanery of Leominster, a rectory, £26. 13*s*. 4*d*. per annum,† became ere long vacant, when Lady Matilda presented Hugh de Rysebury, a subdeacon, to it, who was instituted Sept. 23 of the present year.‡ Saturday, May 27, was spent at Kington. The Bishop visited the church, which was in the deanery of Weobley; and they took up their quarters, by invitation, at Hergast (Hargest), the residence of a Sir Philip ap Howel (Powell). Hargest Court stood and continues to stand in the parish, about a modern mile and a half from the town, on an elevated spot, on the northern bank of the river Arrow. The house was sometime surrounded by a moat, filled by a rivulet descending through a ravine from an eminence called Hargest Ridge. The earliest hitherto ascertained possessor of this mansion and manor is said to have been Philip de Clavinogh, in 1330;§ but the Roll brings forward one of a still earlier date in this Sir Philip ap Howel. Rhys, one of the Ap Howels, was instituted to the church of Kington January 20, 1287, on the presentation of Geoffrey de Castriduno, proctor in England for the Benedictine abbat and convent de Tyron', in the diocese of Chartres.‖ Their right of presentation had been disputed about this time by Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, who very shortly after succeeded in establishing his claim to the advowson.¶ It was estimated at £20 per annum.** Rhys ap Howel, the incumbent, was probably the son of the gentleman at whose house the travellers were received.

* Roll, May 29.
† Tax. P. Nichol. p. 159 b.
‡ Reg. Swinf. f. 66 b.
§ Hist. of Kington. 8vo. 1845, p. 206.
‖ Reg. Swinf. f. 47 a.
¶ Feb. 9, 21 Edw. I. Reg. Swinf. f. 83 a.
** Tax. P. Nichol. p. 159 b.

Two institutions occurred here on this Saturday, that of Sir Philip de Orrebỳ to the rectory of Worthỳn, on the presentation of Sir Peter de Corbet, and of Sir Owen de Montgomery to the rectory of Boreworton, presented to it by Sir Adam de Montgomery, knight.* The festival and Sunday of the Holy Trinity, May 28, found them at ALMELEY. Procuration was obtained from the rector for the visitation of his church, of which the family of Pichard were patrons. Sir Roger Pichard, of Stradewỳ, knight, gave it to Sir Roger de Weobley, in the year 1286.† Its annual value was £16. 13*s.* 4*d.*‡ Nothing since they left Pembridge detained them more than a single day at any station. Monday, May 29, they reached the ancient town of WEOBLEY, where the porter had prepared their lodgings; but, as at Radnor, they hired stabling, whither the prior of Lantonia prima, holding the great tithes, £12 per annum,§ sent a present of oats and hay. In 1287 the convent had placed John de Wonỳton chaplain in the vicarage.‖ When it again became vacant, twelve years after, they bestowed it, apparently with less discretion, upon one of the Baskervilles, a youth of sixteen, who, though destined for the church, having only undergone the first tonsure, was, as Swinfield rather severely expresses himself, "notoriously unfit and unworthy to hold it;" and whom, by a power vested in him by the general Lateran council,¶ he accordingly set aside for another of his own appointment.** The transaction is evidence of the way in which preferment was sometimes disposed of by these religious communities, and at what an immature age incumbents were attempted to

* Reg. Swinf. f. 65 b. † Reg. Cantil. f. 65 b. ‡ Tax. P. Nichol. p. 159 b.

§ Tax. P. Nichol. ibid. ‖ Reg. Swinf. f. 43 b.

¶ Of 1179? The eleventh, relative to discipline. Nicolas, Chronol. of History, p. 238.

** The entry in his register, f. 182 a, is as follows: ‖ Vicaria de Webbeleỳe. ‖ *Memorandum, quod v^to^ Idus Februarii, anno domini M^o^.CCC^o^.xij^o^. apud Bosbury contulit dominus vicariam ecclesiæ de Webbeleỳe vacantem Willielmo dicto de la Wod, presbytero, et ad collationem suam hac vice spectantem pro eo quod prior et conventus Lanthoniæ primæ in Wallia Rogerum de Baskervỳle clericum ætatis .xvj. annorum tantum, habentem solummodo primam tonsuram, notorie inhabilem et indignum præsentârunt, et ipsum auctoritate concilii generalis Lateranensis instituit in eadem, dando eidem super hujus institutionem suas patentes litteras consuetas. Et tunc mandavit . . . , decano de Webbeleỳe per suas litteras inductorias consuetas, ut ipsum Willielmum induceret in corporalem possessionem vicariæ prædictæ.*

be made. The expenditure at Weobley, as to the quantity and quality of the articles, exhibits some tokens of a feast. May 30, the Bishop took the inspection of the church of Dilwyn on his way to the convent of WORMESLEY, the appropriators of it. This house, of comparatively recent origin, had been founded for Austin canons by Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, in the reign of King John.* Like some others, during the episcopate of Canti-

* Dugdale, Mon. VI. p. 398. At the suppression of the monasteries attempts were made to intercede for several of them that they might be spared from the general wreck. See Letters relating to the Suppression, &c. Camd. Soc. 1843. XIX. LI. LV. LVIII. LXXI. Collier, V. pp. 2, et seq. The case of Great Malvern, for which Bishop Latimer interceded, has been frequently quoted. That of Wormesley is perhaps unknown. Thefollowing letter describes it:

"Welbeloved ffrende, As hertly as I can I recom'aund me unto you. And where I understande that for the especyall truste and confydence that the kyngs highnes hath yn you he hath appoynted you to be oon of his Surveyors of dyverse Abbeis within the Countye of Hereford and others appoynted to be subpressed. Trouth it is yn the poore house of Wormsley, within the said countye of hereforde, which is of my foundac'on, many of myne auncestors do lye, and the moost parte of the furst of the poore name that I am comyn of; so that yf I myght, by any presente to be made unto the kyngs grace for the same, I wold be verey sorye it shuld be subpressed. And therfore I desyre and hertly pray you to beare your lawfull favor, and to be good therin At this my desyre, so that by your good helpe and meanes I may the soner atteyn that the same may stand and contynewe. And I shalbe glad to do unto you pleasure at all tymes. As knoweth our lord, who have you in his governance. wryten at hansworth the iiijth day of may.

your ffelow,
G. SHREWESBURY."

"To my hertly beloved fellow
John Skydmore, one of the
gentylmen usshers of the
kyngs most honerable
Chamber."

Scudamore MSS. Letters. The writer of this letter was George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, an eminent statesman and warrior in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII. He died July 26, 33 Henry VIII. at his manor of Wingfield, co. Derby, and was buried in the parish church of Sheffield. He is styled by a contemporary, "vir nobilis, sapiens, ac in omnibus vitæ partibus moderatus." Polydore Virgil, quoted in Dugdale, Baron. I. 332 b. The party to whom the application was addressed was John Scudamore, esquire, of Hom-Lacy, co. Hereford, a surveyor and receiver under the Suppression.

lupe, it had fallen under reproof in 1277,* for having incurred a heavy debt. The canons had obtained several appropriations within the last thirty years: first that of Lenhales (Lyons-hall) in 1262, and afterwards those of Dilwyn in 1285, and of Wormesley in 1287.† The united proceeds of these rectories were valued at £29. 6*s.* 8*d.*; the temporals of the priory, including a flock of sheep, at £27. 4*s.* 8*d.*‡ Two official acts describe the Bishop's presence at this house by their dates. On Tuesday he wrote to the King intreating the aid of the civil power.

The frequency and abuse of excommunication during this century had been both a scandal and a disadvantage to the church, by bringing the practice into some degree of contempt. Among the records of this reign are many applications to his majesty complaining of the resistance of excommunicated offenders, who defied the utmost that the church could do to reduce them to submission. Credit has been given to Swinfield for not having been forward in the exercise of ecclesiastical severity; the following is an instance in which his attempt to humble an offender appears to have failed. It is the last of his epistles that we shall have to produce, and may be thus rendered:—

To his most excellent prince and dread lord, the lord Edward, by the grace of God, illustrious King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, Richard, by mercy of the same God, humble minister of the church of Hereford, all possible reverence and honour. Be it known to your highness that Walter, called the young (or Young), of Leominster, of the county of Hereford, our diocese, order of law having been observed in all things, hath for his manifest contumacy as well as offence been noosed in the bond of greater excommunication, and hath with a hardened mind persisted in the same for forty days or more, in wicked contempt of the keys of the church. Whereas therefore, forasmuch as the church in this case hath nothing further that she can do, the secular arm is wont to be invoked, we humbly beseech your excellency that, for reverence of God, you would command the aforesaid Walter to be chastised according to the custom

* Reg. Cantil. f. 42 a.

† Reg. Cantil. f. 59 a. Dugdale, Mon. VI. p. 403. Reg. Swinf. ff. 20 a, 39 b.

‡ Tax. P. Nichol. pp. 158, 159 b, 172. The family of Map, Mabe, or Mapes, of which the celebrated archdeacon of Oxford, Walter de Mapes, was one, were benefactors to this priory. A Walter Map and his son Walter gave lands to it in the time of Hen. III. MSS. Harl. 472 b, ff. 213 a, 214 a. Biograph. Britann. Literaria, Wright, Anglo-Norman Period, p. 295. The race is by no means extinct among the peasantry of Herefordshire.

of your kingdom, until he shall have made competent satisfaction to God and the church in the premises. May the Almighty preserve you for the government of your kingdom for length of years to come. Given at Wormesley, the 30th day of the month of May, in the year of our Lord 1290.*

On Wednesday before he took leave of Wormesley he made John Sceluing sure of the prebend of Canon Pyon, vacant by the death of Master Walter de Haye (Delahay ?), and with his collation to it gave him the prebendal house in Hereford that the deceased had occupied.† After a short journey he once more re-entered and continued in his own manor-house of

SUGWAS, from May 31 to June 9.

Thus was accomplished, for this season, the more laborious portion of this prelate's inspection of his diocese.‡ From his leaving Colwall on April 10, when he began at Cradley to advance on this northern round, to its conclusion at Wormesley on the last day of May, he had halted at thirty-eight different places; but, excepting in some of the parishes on the borders, at his own castle, and at a few convents, he had remained at no one of them more than a single night. The expense of this peregrination, however, was not a little lightened by procuration and hospitality. During twenty-four days of the one-and-fifty that he was thus engaged, himself and the whole of his attendants were victualled at free cost. And when this did not occur they received occasional presents of provisions, and were almost always sure of meeting with some friendly gift of hay and provender. Once at Monslow they bought hay; and at his own castle were compelled to lay in both hay and corn.

There is little in this part of the Roll that leads to the necessity of illustration in character or event. The diary exhibits arrangements and purveyance answerable to the season. Two short expeditions of personal

* Letters in the Tower, S. 148. John, vicar of Feckenham, had been excommunicated by Godfrey Bishop of Worcester, who appealed in the same manner for secular aid in Dec. 1289. Ibid. S. 132.

† Reg. Swinf. f. 65 b.

‡ His periodical proceedings of this kind, as far as they may be collected from the case of Wigmore abbey, described in pp. cci, ccii, point to a system of triennial supervision.

visitation intervene before he reaches a more permanent, if any thing with him could be considered a permanent, resting-place, and the family are again gradually reverting to purely domestic concerns. They are looking to the repair of their culinary vessels, and shoeing their horses, and sending them to fetch wine from Bosbury to Whitborne and Sugwas;* and they are eating up their old stock of salt venison to make room for the new that is coming in at Midsummer. Oatmeal begins to be served out to the hounds, and Adam, the marshal, who often accompanies the huntsmen, having been ill and left behind at Bromyard during the rest of the visitation, returns to his duties.† During the octave of Trinity, Roger Caperun, Swinfield's attorney at Westminster, has waited upon him at Sugwas and received six shillings and eight pence, part of his remuneration for professional trouble and attendance. A like sum he also received at Bosbury on the first Sunday in the following October.‡ At the above-mentioned octave the servants of the Barton at Hereford obtained a gratuity, and about the same time the harper of Sir John Tregoz had access to my lord at Sugwas, and departed with a reward.§

June 5 was taken up with an excursion to DORSTON, a parish and village lying remotely in a romantic nook at the upper extremity of the valley in which the Dore takes its rise, among slopes of arable and meadow land, overhung by graceful woods, and ascending towards those swelling eminences that lie expanded at the foot of the Black Mountain. A train of six-and-thirty horses, with their proportionate attendants, appearing suddenly among the inhabitants, could not but have taken them and their rector by surprise, had not their coming been announced by a special harbinger, and the preparation of their lodgings. As to provision in such a place, the conveying thither of fish brought from London by De la Dane helped to make up any deficiency that might have awaited them, and in most respects they were under the necessity of taking good care for themselves; for the incumbent gave them only a portion of the feed of their stud, amounting to one quarter and a bushel of oats: they paid for every thing besides.‖ Indeed, visitation is not so much as hinted at, though it cannot be supposed that they would take pains to go aside in a by-way, when they were on their

* Roll, June 2. † Id. June 4. ‡ Dors. ‖ 15. § Id. ‖ 34.
‖ Id. June 7.

road to Clifford, for any other end. The church was a rectory of £20 per annum,* and in the gift of the prior and convent of Clifford, and so it remained till about 1334, when, upon the usual pleas for appropriation, they obtained the great tithes, with consent of Bishop Chorleton, and a vicar was introduced into the place.† A chapel annexed to the church had been built, according to tradition, by Richard Briton, one of the assassins of Archbishop Becket,‡ pursuant to a vow; and this was confirmed by an inscription upon a stone in the said chapel, § which on the rebuilding of the church, about the year 1829, was broken up by the workmen and buried in the wall. Ancient documents designate the place as Dorston in Straddel, an adjunct formerly applied to the names of several places and parishes along the line of the Golden Vale. The common boundary of the dioceses of Hereford and Llandaff once ran along the course of the Dore.‖ Straddel was the scene of one of Harold's successful dispersions of the Welsh in his military operations against them, when they escaped from him and fled to the mountains.

Another remove, a few miles to the west, brought them, June 8, to the

* Tax. P. Nichol. p. 159 b. † Reg. Chorlton, ff. 3 a, 39 a.

‡ He dealt the last deadly blow on the head of Becket, and with such impetuosity that the lower part of his sword-blade was fractured against the pavement. Life and Letters, Giles, II. p. 333. This fragment had a special altar at Canterbury, and devout pilgrims frequently laid their offerings before it, *ad punctum ensis*. When Edward I. was last at Canterbury, on his return from France, he offered at this relic, Rot. Hospit. 17, 18 Edw. I. Carlton Ride; and the custom was kept up long after. Pilgrimages to St. Mary of Walsingham and St. Thomas of Canterbury, Nichols, 1849, p. 115.

§ A copy of the inscription, with which the Editor has been favoured by the Rev. Thomas Powell, the vicar, runs thus:

"Hanc capellam, ex voto ad virginem Mariam, Ricardus de Brito dedicavit."

But it is to be regretted that a date in the original had been omitted in the transcript, and cannot be recovered. Could this have been ascertained it might have helped to establish an historical fact. The miserable and speedy fate that the monkish writers of the day have awarded to the murderers is on good grounds considered apocryphal. Hugh de Morville and William de Traci are ascertained to have lived some time after the event (Pilgrimages, &c. ut supra, pp. 220, 221): it is not improbable that the same may have been the case with Briton, and that the chapel dedicated *ex voto* may have been an effort at expiation.

‖ In a bull of Pope Honorius, a. 1129, it is thus described: "Along Nantybardd to the Dour, along it to the Gwormwy (the Worm)." Liber Landav. p. 583.

parish church and priory of CLIFFORD. The latter, at which they rested, was founded by Simon, grandson of Pons Fitz-Osborn, Earl of Hereford, in the reign of Henry I., for Cluniac monks, and was a cell to the priory of Lewes in Sussex.* It stood in a low spot, exposed to intrusions from the Welsh, whenever they ventured to trouble the border, though it was not far from the Castle known as the birth-place of Rosamond, the mistress of Henry I. This fortress was advantageously placed on a commanding eminence above the Wye; but there was a hill between the dwelling of the monks and that of the lord of Clifford; and on its southern brow, a little above the priory, was the parish church. This is the present object of the Bishop's attention. The brethren had a conventual church of their own; and it may be discerned that Kemeseye only uses the term "parochial" by way of distinction in places where, as at Wenlock, Alberbury, Chirbury, Wigmore, Leominster, and Clifford, conventual as well as parish churches existed. Both this and that of Dorston were in the deanery of Weobley. It was a vicarage of £4; the great tithes, £30, went towards the maintenance of the priory;† there the visitor was on procuration till the next morning, when he turned back to

SUGWAS, from June 9 till 12.

The time had nearly come round when the river and the chase were to be rendered tributary to the table; but in salmon and deer-killing they seem still a little in advance of the season; the fence months had not yet expired. John the huntsman and William the under-groom had at least been looking out for game; and Harpin had been watching young falcons to catch them as soon as they were sufficiently fledged to be on the wing.‡

* Tanner in Clifford. † Tax. P. Nichol. p. 159 b.

‡ Roll, June 9, 11. The fate of the genus Falco of the naturalists with its varieties in England is an emblem of the mutability of earthly importance. Checked in their earlier stage by the ruthless demolition of lofty timber, rendered useless by the introduction of inclosures upon champaign country, and daily perishing before the murderous gun, they are likely in a short time to leave nothing but a tradition and a name. Those predatory habits, that were the basis of the value attached to them, are now their ruin. That which once was the pride of princes, and fluttered and shook its bells on the hands of ladies, is treated as vermin, and shot down by the guard of the poultry, the farmer's boy. In his recollections of the traces of falconry, as respects Herefordshire, the editor can call to mind the hawk-chamber over the porch till of late existing at the Moor, the

The system of purchasing and paying for articles from the farm is again resorted to, and in pottage of new peas and beans we have notice of the earliest productions of the field or garden. The hounds must continue to have oatmeal, and bran is allowed to the horses; and some of them are sick after their long journey, and are recruited with bread. William, a carter of Sugwas, had a present from my lord of three shillings in consideration of a hurt received while he was accompanying them during their recent tour; he was a diligent and useful servant, and it may be remembered that he had been rewarded before.* The workmen in a quarry at Sugwas had a

residence of the ancient family of Penoyre, in the parish of Clifford. Among their groves there is still a Hawkwood, and the rare and appropriate appendage of a heronry, at the present hour. The right to aeries of hawks, down to the reign of Henry VIII. was as much the object of dispute as game has been in latter times. The servants of the landed proprietors of Rotherwas and Hom Lacy, adjoining estates near Hereford, by their mutual depredations brought on a law-suit between the families of Bodenham and Scudamore. This is described in a communication from William Dansey to his father-in-law, then in London. His letter, quaintly expressed, and directed "To the right worshipfull and his singuler good Master John Scudamore, esquier, geve this at the Courte," conveys intelligence of the trespasses committed on either hand. "Righte worshipfull and my synguler good Master, my duty remembred, This is to lett you understand that Mr. Bodnam hathe served processe upon your men, that did attempt to steale his hawkes, and meanethe to put them to great trowble, unlesse it will please your worshype to wrytte unto Mr. Boothe for to take it up untill such tyme as you come into the countrey; for Mr. Boothe did tell me that he woold stay it almoast three weakes to see yf that it will please you to send your letter unto hym in the behalfe of your men, because he saythe that upon your letter he will eyther stay it untill your comyninge (*sic*) or else he will do the beste he can to make an end of hit hym selfe. I sent your worshype woord of the ordre of hit. Wherfore we truste you will not myslyke with that deed doynge, for that Mr. Thom's Bodname's man did stele your hawkes out of the Weast fyeld, and came unto the eyrye that is wachte at bolston,[a] and did shoote twice within thre scorre of the hawkes nest, and afterwards offered to shoote at the old hawke. ffrom homlacye the xxiiijth of this June.

"Your obedient servant,

"William Dansey."

Scudamore MSS. letters. This John Scudamore was apparently the same who has been already mentioned, and was receiver of the Royal Court of Augmentations in 30 Hen. VIII. and subsequent years.

* Dors. ‖27, 49.

[a] Near Hom Lacy.

small donation of 6*d.* by express order of my lord; but the occasion of it is not set down. More than once the servants are treated with drink upon the roads. Hereford is more likely than any other place in the neighbourhood to have furnished the six iron-bound tankards that were bought for the buttery, as well as the hands that repaired two mazer cups, the unknown value of which is obscurely suggested by its having been done with plates of silver, and cost 3*s.* 6*d.*, about £2. 12*s.* 6*d.** On the last day of their stay one John de la Lee, of Denham, entered into a contract or agreement of money-lending with the Chancellor of Hereford, Gilbert de Swinfield, who had been residing in Oxford, but was then under his uncle's roof, and was shortly about to go abroad. A sum appears to have been borrowed that amounted, probably with interest, in the whole to a hundred shillings, eighty of which were repaid by the Bishop, at two instalments, in the course of the year.† This happened on a Sunday, and is not the only instance in which no difficulty seems to have been made by a dignitary of the church in an affair so entirely secular, in such a house, and on such an occasion, as though the day had sanctified the deed. It was the festival of Saint Barnabas, and was solemnized in the household with good cheer.

June 12 they took their leave of Sugwas, where we shall find them no more, and came to BODENHAM, a village and parish upon the river Lugg, about eight miles north-east of Hereford, in the deanery of Weston. They were entertained by procuration at the expense of the Dominican convent of Brecon, who held the appropriation. It was returned to the Commissioners for the Taxation at £13. 6*s.* 8*d.*; the vicarage at £5.‡ Whoever the present vicar might be, he was succeeded in July, 1291, by Sir Hugh de Kancia § (Kent). Humphrey de Bohun was lord of the manor. ‖ At Bodenham Swinfield was met by Sir Reginald de Radnor, clerk, whom, on the presentation of the prior and convent of Monmouth, he admitted to the church of Welsh Bicknor.¶ Tuesday, June 13, they were at PENCOMBE, in the deanery of Frome, a rectory returned at £12.** At both these places the Bishop visited and claimed procuration; but the rector of

* Roll, June 11.
† Dors. ‖ 19.
‡ Tax. P. Nichol. p. 153 b.
§ Reg. Swinf. f. 74 a.
‖ Plac. de quo Warr. 20 Edw. I. p. 275 a.
¶ Reg. Swinf. f. 65 b.
** Tax. P. Nichol. p. 160.

Pencombe demurred, as the incumbents of Lugwardine and Bitterley had done, maintaining that the reception of his diocesan, as he the rector understood it, was not by procuration, but by desire, or as an invited guest *(ad ejus rogatum, sicut ipse intellexit)*. Master John Chaundos, priest, had been instituted to this church on the presentation of Sir Eustace de Wyteneie (Whitney), Knight, Feb. 4, 1288.* From this point we lose sight of every thing relative to personal visitation. From Pencombe, across the country, they remove to

BOSBURY, June 14, 15, 16.

As Swinfield has been here for several weeks, during part of the preceding months of October and December, including the whole of November, and as no novelty of importance calls for Abstract or Illustration, we may accompany him at once to

WHITBORNE, from June 17 to July 20, inclusive.

Where they renew for awhile, without interruption, the system of purveyance and consumption that was interwoven with their domestic life. The contents of this section of the diary bear in most respects too strong a resemblance to what has been already so often pointed out to demand any further analysis of them; a few only may be selected to indicate the time and place. As to matters ecclesiastical, the two following instances of episcopal authority, that at this juncture fall in our way, are the last to be recorded.

In the æstuary of the Severn, on a rock at the confluence of that river and the Wye, near Chepstow, and opposite to a manor then belonging to the Bishop of Llandaff, called Mathern, stood a chapel, dedicated to an anchoret, Saint Tiriac, Tryock, or Tryackle, an appellation that has gained nothing in euphony or dignity by its subsequent transformation into Treacle.† John Steere, a Benedictine monk, although not of the diocese of Hereford, petitioned the Bishop for leave to celebrate divine service on this circumscribed

* Reg. Swinf. f. 59 a.

† This chapel on the rock is noticed by William of Worcestre as that of Saint Tiriacus the anchoret. *Distat a Kyngrode per 6 miliaria in parte Walliæ coram Mathern villa manerii episcopi Landavensis per unum miliare de Chepstow.* Itiner. p. 147. See Archæol. XXIX. 26, 29.

spot, and obtained a free faculty so to do, whenever he could go and continue there, no canonical objection existing to the contrary.* The licence was dated at Whitborne on the 30th of June. Another, dated the 2d of July, relates to a private chantry at the eastern outskirt of his jurisdiction, near Whitborne. A knight, Sir Henry le Waleys, having built and fitted up an oratory at his manor of Salewell, in the parish of Clifton upon Teme, petitioned that a priest might be appointed to perform divine service during the life of himself and the lady Sybilla, his wife, whenever necessity or utility should require it. To this request a faculty was granted conditionally, that permission should be obtained from the parsons of the church of Clifton, to whom the tithes and obventions belonged, so that the said church might not be defrauded of any of them; but that all obventions of any kind whatsoever brought to the oratory should be immediately, entirely, and faithfully restored to the church of Clifton.†

Whitborne, as a manor, compared with the others attached to the see, might have been reckoned in the third class of them. It was situated in a corner of the diocese, contiguous to that of Worcester. Part of Bromyard adjoined it on the west, and the great wood of Brinksty was equally divided between the two parishes. The house, near the river Teme, might not be ill adapted to security and convenience. It was, if not then, certainly afterwards, surrounded with a moat, and possessed the usual conveniences of a mill and a warren. It had pasturage beside the river and pannage in abundance of mast and acorn in its wood. Our narrative of trifling observances here shall be brief. From the hour of their arrival they began to put their horses upon grass, and kept up only half of their allowance of corn. In removals of wine from Bosbury and Ledbury Whitborne had received its portion; and the weak white wine of the Ledbury vineyard here deposited perhaps was rightly reserved for summer use. According to their custom of drinking it from the wood, they had left a cask on tap when they were last at this place, and it is now brought to table with the red. This variety is discernible no where before, but begins from the first day, and is continued, with few intermissions, all the while they are here. Their general stock of foreign wine, however, required replenishing, and, as in the former half-

* Reg. Swinf. f. 65 b.

† Ibid. ut supra.

year, was sent for to Bristol.* Squire Raulin, or Ralph de Marines, was again charged with this commission; and he bought seven casks and a barrel, six of which were transferred to Bosbury, and one to Colwall. The whole cost of wine, freightage, and carriage to the Bosbury cellar, was fifteen pounds six shillings. Other articles were at the same time procured from that market. The expedition probably took up not less than a fortnight; no notice is taken of precautions, as in winter, to secure the contents of the vessels from the effect of weather during the voyage. Another half-yearly occupation was the slaughter of cattle for salting, though in the heat of summer. The employment of some species of fine linen in the kitchen or larder, to cover the meat, represents an annoyance from flies;† and the modern substitution of wire for the purpose is but a trifling advance upon the ingenuity of our ancestors. They bought a stock of geese, put them up and fattened them with paste made with milk and flour of wheat and oats.‡ Other manors contributed to their maintenance; Sugwas and Bosbury sent fish and pastry, bread and meat. Saturday, the 24th of June, brought a number of persons thither, if the increase of horses be a fair criterion; they were probably dependents with their midsummer reckonings; the groom reported to Kemeseye that on the whole there had been forty horses on grass and corn that day.

The reader may have observed that the whole of the household could seldom, if ever, have been collected together at a given time; but they now seem to be gathering in. Thomas, the groom, who, with one of my lord's palfreys and some other servants, had been seven weeks in London, came down and had his and their expenses allowed. Adam the marshal, since his recovery and return, had been to Oxford, where he paid for the charges of the brothers Kingessuod at the University, and brought them to Whitborne immediately after the Translation of Saint Thomas the Martyr, to pass some time under the roof of their patron and friend.§ The arrival of these parties coincides with the first and second week in July. There might be a reason for summoning the servants from London, previous to the great ceremony that then was enacting there with so much pomp and concourse, and perhaps no little disorder, when the whole court and city

* Roll, July 11, 15. † Id. July 10. ‡ Id. June 20, July 19.
§ Roll, July 7, Dors. ‖ 9.

gave a loose to an unbounded expression of joy. On July 8 the princess Margaret, fourth daughter of Edward I. was espoused to John of Brabant; and the entertainment vied with and probably exceeded in magnificence and excess of princely and popular revelry any thing that had been witnessed at the preceding nuptials of Joanna with Gilbert de Clare.* That nobleman in compliment to the bride and and bridegroom, or that he might not appear inferior to his father in costly banqueting, gave a most sumptuous entertainment to them on the following day at his country residence in Clerkenwell.†

Whitborne might be an agreeable Midsummer retreat; but, as it was at some distance from the preserves of the "great game" that invited their attention, it could hardly have been so suitable for the main occupation of the season, in which some, the most active of the household, were engaged. For now every where throughout England, in forest, chase, and park, the huntsman's horn was wont to

Shake the high thicket. ‡

The king himself had issued orders to Roger Strange, justiciary of his forests on this side the Trent, and to the several keepers of those of Shotover, Cannock, Wanborough, Rockingham, Hatfield, Melksham, Devizes, and the Chase of Bristol, to capture deer for presents to his noble and right reverend friends.§ The servants of the Bishop of Hereford were no less diligent in this business. In June and July fresh venison, the

* See Dors. || c. p. 164, Commentary, where for Joanna, read Margaret.

† Green, Lives of the Princesses, II. p. 335. The King honoured it by his presence, as may be inferred from the record of a little accident that befel one of his attendants, proving that all who were upon duty were not so cautious as they might have been during the festivity of the hour. Geoffrey, the King's *aquarius*, whose office was to bring him water for his ablution in a costly basin, by some very imaginable occurrence missed it at the feast. He did not in consequence forfeit his post; but Edward with his own hand paid him in advance, or over and above his wages, the sum of sixty shillings to make good the loss. *Aquarius regis.* ||*Eodem die* (sc. 16 Julii) *Galfrido Aquario regis de prestito super vadiis suis per manus proprias, quos* (sc. solidos) *cepit ad emendum quoddam lavacrum, quod perdidit ad festum Comitis Gloucestriæ. Lx.s.* Lib. Hosp. 18 Edw. I. in Turr. Lond.

‡ Milton, Arcades, l. 58.

§ June 15, 21; July 3, 14, 15, 16, 17. Rot. Claus. 18 Edw. I. in Turr. Lond.

huntsmen, the hounds, and the chase, are repeatedly mentioned in the Roll. Adam as usual is of the party; on one occasion they are absent two days and nights.* On July 20 they draw nearer to the scene of action, for there is a general removal to Colwall; and they are out on the day following quenching their thirst in the Chase *(in potu venatorum in chacia)*. And we might still have had other intimations of their labours and their spoils, with many particulars of far more interest or importance, that it might have been desirable to know, had we received Kemeseye's accounts complete to the end of the year. A fragment of Sunday, the 21st, is all that remains. Some rude or careless hand, more probably the relentless hand of Time, that rends asunder every tie, has removed the concluding membranes of the Roll. Here, therefore, the scene prematurely closes, the curtain drops, and the actors are visible no more. Those whose progress we have so long been observing from day to day, the prelate and his clerks, his squires, and the retinue of his household, with all their accompaniments and means of subsistence, man, horse, and hound, at once disappear from before us, like the sudden breaking up of some busy dream.

The allusion made in a former page† to the place where Swinfield died is more precisely confirmed by Leland, whose testimony has recently fallen under the notice of the editor. This, though loosely, and in some respects to all appearance inaccurately, worded, is sufficiently explicit as to the point in question. It shows that his death took place at Bosbury, and that he was interred with great ceremony in his own cathedral. His words are these:

"Richard Swinefeld obiit anno Dom. 1316. die 5. Gregorii Pont. Ro. apud Bosburie. Sedit annis 34. Sepultus est pompa max. in Herifordensi ecclesia."‡

And they form no inappropriate close to our imperfect memorial of this prelate's character and mode of life.

Mors ultima linea rerum est.

* June 20; July 1. † P. lxvi. note. ‡ Itin. VIII. p. 70.

GLOSSARY.

Though a larger exposition of many of these terms may be found in the Notes or Commentary, it has been thought convenient briefly to explain them here; the Editor having chiefly confined himself to the meaning of each word as it stands in the sentence to which the reference is given. Conjugations of verbs and declensions and terminations of nouns are often capriciously exchanged, and cannot be exactly determined in a glossary upon so small a scale.

ABBATIA, 233. An abbey
ABERDEN, 50. Fish cured at Aberdeen, in Scotland, of reputed excellence
ACQUIETANCIA, 161; AQUIETANCIA, 126. An acquittance
ACRA, cxliii. An acre
ADJUVAMEN, 35. A helper in household work
AFFORCIATUS, 183. Of strong quality, as a thick cloth
AFFORESTARE, 219. To plant or form a forest
AFFRUS, lxvii. A bullock; AFFRA, a heifer
ALBA, xxxvii. An alb; an ecclesiastical vestment
ALLOCATIO, 7. An allowance
ALLOCATUS, 7. Allowed
ALOS, 70. A shad?
AMALATUS, xxxvi; AYMELLATUS, lii. Enamelled
AMBULATOR, 179. A colt-breaker
AMENDA, xci. Satisfaction for injury
AMICTUS, xxxvii. An amice; an ecclesiastical vestment
ANACHORITICUS, 213. Relating to an anchorite or recluse
ANESIUM, 115. Aniseed
ANGROU, 58. An impost, or custom paid to the lord of the manor; as of fish at Sugwas
APPRENTICIUS, xxxiii. An apprentice-at-law
AQUIETATUS, 73. Acquitted
ARMA, xxxvii. Heraldic arms
ARRERAGIUM, 204. Arrear of rent or payment
ASSISUS, xxv. Assessed
ASTRUM, 8. A hearth or fire-place; a grate
ATAMIATUS, 107. Tapped: vide INTAMIATUS
ATORNARE, 224. To attourn or assign to another lord
ATTORNATUS, 210. An attorney
ATTUAL, 115. A spice?
AUCA, 5. A goose
AUDIENTIA, 204. A suit; a place of hearing
AVERAGIUM, 106. Stock upon a farm
AURIFRIGIUM, xxxvii. A fringe or border worked in gold
AX-A or -UM, 134. An axle-tree

BACON, 10. A bacon-hog
BAGGA, 5. A bag
BAHUR, 179. BAHUDIUM? a linen-chest
BALLIVA, 169. A bailiwick
BALLIVUS, 112. A bailiff
BANNIRE, xci. To raise the country
BARGA, 141. A bag for a sumpter-saddle
BARILLUS, 25. A barrel
BARRUS, 13. A porpoise?
BASSETUM, 113. Baize
BASTUM, 124. A pack-saddle; bast, or strips of wood or bark of which mats and baskets are made
BATILAGIUM, 103; BATILLAGIUM, 25. Freightage
BATILLUS, 25. A boat
BAYARDUS, 175. Of a bay colour
BERKARIUS, 176. A shepherd
BESACIA, 181. A double-headed pick-axe; a twybill
BESTIA, 21. A deer
BISSUS, 113. Fur from the hide of a hind or female red deer

Bladum, 173. Corn
Blanchettum, 193. White woollen cloth; blanket
Bluettum, 183. Blue woollen cloth
Borda, 124. A board
Bordarius, cxliii. A cottager
Boscus, 29. A grove or coppice
Bota, 137. A boot
Boteleria, 195; Buteleria, 9. A buttery
Brachetus, xci. A little hound
Brach, 131. A bracket
Braciatio, 32. Brewing
Braciator, 32. A brewer
Braconarius, cxi. A hound
Brasium, 32. Malt
Brawen, 41. Brawn, or a boar
Brema, 57. The bream
Broudatus, xxxvii. Embroidered
Bug, 184. Dressed skin or fur of lambs; fur from the hide of an ox?
Bukett, 180. An alms-bag
Buleteria, 5. Bolted flour
Bunda, 219. A boundary
Burra, 140. A nut of a screw
Burrum, 181. Stuffing for a saddle
Bursa, 149. A purse
Busca, 11; Buscha, 22. Billet-wood and brush-wood
Bussellus, 18. A bushel

Canabacium, 5; Canevacium, 115. Canvass
Canella, 116. Cinnamon
Canettus, lxxxviii. A little hound
Canonicatus, 207. A canonry
Capa, 192. A cope
Capellanus, lxxv. A chaplain
Capellus, 184. A small hat
Capitulum, 203. An ecclesiastical chapter
Capreolus, 80. The roe
Capucium, 113. A hood
Carbonarius, 140. A charcoal-burner
Carcos, 107. A carcass
Carda, xxxvii. Material for an ecclesiastical dress
Carecta, 29; Caretta, 196. A cart
Carectarius, 6. A carter
Carectatum, 45. A cart-load
Caretillus, 54. A tilt of a waggon?
Cariagium, 33. Conveyance by cart
Cariare, 29. To carry
Caristia, lxxxviii. Dearth
Carit, 114 ?
Casula, xxxvii. A hood; a chasuble; an ecclesiastical vestment
Cathena, 134; Catena. A chain
Cautionalis, 212. Relating to a bond
Caville, 129. A tile-peg
Celatura, 185. Cieling
Cellaria, 25. A cellar
Cementarius, 185. A mason
Cendallum, 137. Sandali. A fine silk stuff
Cepum, 13; Sepum, 181; Sebum. Tallow
Cervus, 15. A stag or red deer
Chacia, 15. A chase
Chaiminice, cxxxvi. Chimneys
Chalo, 122. A coverlid; shalloon
Chancia, 129; q. Changia. Exchange?
Chandelaria, 132. The chandlery; place where the candles were kept
Chiphus, 33; Ciphus, 24; Cyphus, 106; Scyphus. A cup
Chrismatorium, 228. A vessel for holding chrism
Ciminum, 5; Cyminum, 115. Cummin
Cindere, 184; Scindere. To cut
Cingula, 136. A girth
Circulare, 33. To hoop a vessel
Cirotheca, 114. A glove
Cirpus, 8; Scirpus. A rush
Cissor, 112; Scissor. One who cuts out cloth
Clamium, 216. A claim; a term of law
Clausura, lv. An enclosure
Clericulus, 158. A young clerk
Cluttum, 133; Clutum, 124. A clout or iron-plate to an axle-tree
Codling, 31. Small cod
Coffrum, 42; Cofrum, 165. A coffer
Colerium, 131. A horse-collar
Coliandrum, 115. Coriander
Collatio, 118. Collation or conferring of a benefice on a clerk; commonly misapplied as the collation of a clerk to a benefice
Color, 33. A strainer or sieve
Comitiva, 133. A company or escort
Commissarius, lxxv. A commissioner
Compotus, 37; Computus. An account
Concanonicus, 238. A fellow or brother-canon
Concordia, 234. A compact
Conductus, 35. Putting over at a ferry
Congrus, 4. A conger-eel
Coningera, 56. A rabbit-warren
Contradictum, xcvii. A rejoinder in law
Conversus, 235. A lay brother; helper in a monastery

COOPERTOR, 121. A tiler
COOPERTORIUM, 24. A cover
COOPERTURA, 113. A horse-cloth
COOPERTUS, 224; sc. equus. A horse armed for fighting
COPIA, 204. A copy
COPPIA, 123. A cart-load
COQUINA, 4. A kitchen
CORDA, 132. A cord
COREUM, 179; CORIUM. Leather
CORRECTOR, cxcii. A title of the prior of Alberbury
CORREARE, 136. To curry leather
COSTE, 38. A basket
COTON, clxxxvii. Cotton
CROCLUS, 106. A hook; q. staple?
CROFTA, 217. A little close adjoining to a house
CRUPERIUM, 178. A crupper
CUNA, 25. A salting-vat
CURIALITAS, 37. A gratuity to servants; a courtesy
CURTILAGIUM, 169. A piece of land near a house
CUSTOMARIUS, cxliii. Relating to a tenure by the custom of a manor
CUSTUS, 128. Cost
CYROGRAPHUM, 215; CHIROGRAPHUM. An instrument in writing

DAERIA, 67. A dairy or dairy-maid
DALMATICA, xxxvii. A dalmatic; an episcopal vestment
DAMA, 15. A female fallow-deer
DEMANDA, 170. A demand
DERATIONARE, xxxiv. To deraign; a term in law signifying to prove an assertion or denial
DISTRICTIO, 232. A distress in law
DOMINICA, clxxxviii. Lordship
DORSARIUM, 141. A pack-saddle
DRACHIA, 32. Draff; the grains; residue of the malt in brewing
DRAGETUM, 115. Buckwheat
DRESSERIUM, 124; DRESSORI-A or -UM, 34. A dresser

EBDOMADARIUS, 208. A hebdomadary
EDUS, 51; HÆDUS. A kid
ELEMOSYNARIUS, lxxx. An almoner
ELFAR, 61. An elver; a small eel
EQUITATURA, 117. Horse-hire; lxi, horse-furniture
ES VIRIDE, 183. Verdigris
ESSEY, 112. Say; serge; a thin sort of stuff
ESTIKA, 3. A stick of eels
ESTIVALE, 114. A summer shoe or slipper
ESTOCFIS, vide STOCFIS
EXENNIUM, 163; EXHENNIUM, 3. A present
EXITUS, 24. The viscera of an animal; lxi, issues; proceeds or profits
EXTENTA, 221. A valuation of landed property

FACTOR, 20. A maker, as of candles
FAGOTTUM, 124. A faggot
FALCACIO, 106. Mowing
FEODUM, 125. A fee; salary or stipend
FEOFACTIO, 216. An enfeoffment
FERETRUM, l. A shrine
FERRATOR, 27. A farrier
FERRURA, 83; FERURA, 45. Farriery
FESANTA, 40. A pheasant
FILUM, 219. The midway of a stream
FINIS, 234. A fine in law
FIRMARIUS, 63. A farmer
FIRMASIO, 23. The doe season
FISICUS, 151. A physician
FLACHIA, 115. A wrapper or covering
FLOS, 39. Fine flour
FLOTE, 178. A coarse rasp used in farriery
FORAGIUM, cix. Straw for fodder
FORCERIUS, cxxx; FORCTERI-US or -UM, 141. A little box
FORMULUS, 59. A little bench
FORNAGIUM, 29. Baking; payment for the use of an oven
FORTLOTELOND, 163. Land in the bishoprick of Hereford, granted on lease *dum episcopus in episcopatu steterit*, during the term of an episcopate, so that the successor might have the same for his present revenue.—Jacob, from Butterfield's Survey, 56.
FORURA, 122; FURURA, 113. A piece of fur
FRETT, 142. A thripple of a cart or waggon
FRIMITATUS, 42. Frumenty or firmity
FRISCUS, 68. Fresh
FUGARE, 177. To drive sheep or cattle
FUGATOR, cix. A drover
FURCHETTUM, lii. A fork to accompany a knife
FURNIARE, 5. To bake
FURRARE, 193. To trim or line with fur

GALINGALIS, 5; GARINGALIS, 115. Orris-root
GALO, 28. A gallon measure
GARCIO, 25. A young serving-man of the third class in the household
GARDE-CORS, 193. A waistcoat

GARDEROBA, CXXXVI; GARDROBA, 114. Wardrobe
GARIOFIL, 115; GARIOFIR, 41; GARYOPHYLLON. A clove
GARNIAMENTUM, 113. A garment
GENNIA, XXXVII. The city Genoa
GENTACULUM, 41. Breakfast
GESTIA, 5. Yeast
GINGIBER, vide ZINZIBAR
GIRFALCON, l. The strongest of the falcons, employed to fly at the larger birds, swans and cranes
GLOYT, 121. Straw used for thatching
GORNARDUS, 10. A fish; the gurnet
GRATIOSE, 232. Graciously
GRANGIA, lxi. A grange; a building to hold corn
GRIFFO, XXXVII. A griffin
GROMIL, 115. Gromwell; extract of gromill or graymill, a plant
GROSSI TURONENSES, 127. Large silver money struck at Tours, in France
GRUELLUS, 10. Gruel; sometimes the meal of which it was made
GUERRA, 224. War
GUMFUS, 124. A strong nail
GURLUM, 190. A vessel to hold coin?
GURGES, 8. A wear for catching fish, as at Sugwas
GUTERIUM, 121. A gutter
GUYDAGIUM, 36. The act or service of shewing the way across a country

HAK, 4. A fish; the hake
HANAPARIUM, 4. A hamper
HANCHIA, 15. A hanch
HARPARIUS, 154. A harper
HAYA, XX. An inclosure
HERIETA, 222. A heriot; a term in law
HERNESIUM, 29. Harness; baggage
HOSPITIUM, 3. A household
HOSTIA, 141; HOSTIUM, 34. A door
HOSTIARIUS, XCVII. A door-keeper; an usher
HUCIA, 113. A horse-cloth
HURTRUM, 133. The shoulder of the axle-tree against which the wheel works
HYDA, 221. A hide or measure of land

IDONEITAS, 213. Fitness
INCAUSTUM, 133. Ink
INCEPCIO, 190. A term employed in the schools of Oxford when a candidate proceeded to take a degree
INFORMARE, 179. To break in, teach or train, as a jockey trains a colt
INSTAURUM, 4. Store in the house, or stock on the estate
INTENDERE, 134. To attend; 216, to determine
INTERLOCUTORIA, 204. A consultation
INTAMIATUS, 96; INTHAMIATUS, 32. Tapped
INTRARE, 173. To place in shelter
INVADIARI, XXXIV. To be waged, as in case of duel, or wager of battle
INVENIRI, 119. To be found, *i.e.* maintained, or provided with the necessaries of life
IRROTULATUS, 224. Inrolled

JALO, xlv. A gallon measure
JOCALIA, lii. Jewels
JOCULARIS, XXXVII. Of or belonging to jewelry
JUVAMEN, 67. Help in household work
JUVENCULUS, XCI. A little lad

KARCASIUM, 4. A carcass
KARIACIO, 90; KARIAGIUM, 25. Conveyance by horse or carriage
KARIARE, 22. To convey
KEYNETH, 111. A sort of coarse Welsh cloth
KYBEBS, 115. Cubebs; a spice or drug

LAMPREDA, 48. A lamprey
LAMPRUNCULUS, 3. The lampern, or smaller lamprey
LAQUEAR, 114. Lace; net-work
LARDANARIUS, 168; LARDENARIUS, 194. A larderer; one who attends upon the larder
LARDARIUM, 19. A larder
LATTA, 124. A lath
LAUDUM, 209. An award
LAVATORIUM, 180. A lavatory or washing-place; a basin
LENG, 92. A fish; the ling
LEPORARIUS, 134. A greyhound; sometimes a harrier
LEVATUS, 234. Levied
LIBERATIO, 123. Payment
LIBERATUS, 10. Served out
LIGATURA, 114. Binding
LIMMON, 134. Lemon
LINEA TELA, 103. Linen of fine texture
LINITUS, XXXVII. Lined, as a garment
LINTHEAMEN, 136. A sheet or other linen
LIQUORICIUM, 115. Liquorice
LITERA, 35. Litter for horses
LITERATORIE, CXXXVII. By letter

LOKETTUM, 183. A small lock?
LUMINARIUS, 215. One who is charged with the care of the lights, as at a shrine

MACIUS, 115. Mace; a spice
MADLARD, 21. The mallard, or wild duck
MANERIUM, 4. A manor
MANGUERIUM, 74. A manger
MANIC-A, or -US, lii. A handle
MANIPLUM, xxxvii. A maniple; part of an ecclesiastical dress
MANTELLUM, 113. A mantle
MANUTERGIUM, 122. A towel
MAPPA, 20. A table-cloth
MARCATA, xcviii. The value of a mark; a mark's-worth
MARCHIA, xciii. The march; a border-tract on the edge of England and Wales
MARESCHALCIA, 8. Farriery
MARESCALLUS, 19. A marshal; stud-groom
MARTELLUS, 31. A small shoeing-hammer
MAZERINUS, 9. Of or belonging to a mazer cup, usually constructed of valuable, sometimes of inferior, metal, or of pottery
MEDIETAS, 82. A moiety
MENESTRALLUS, 149. A minstrel
MENUSIA, 5. The minnow
MEREMIUM, 128. Timber
MERLENG, 41. Merlan or morne; a kind of cod
MESSAGERIUM, 7. A message
METH, 77. Metheglin; mead
MICATOR, 42. A dredger; a mincing knife
MILITIA, 221. Knight-service.
MINUTUM VARIUM, 113. Minever
MODIUS, xlvi. A cask
MOLENDINUM VENTRITUM, 219. A windmill
MOLTURA, xxvii. A grist; corn ground, or fit for grinding
MONACHARI, clxxxvii. To be made a monk
MONIALIS, 153. A nun
MORTARIOLUM, 41. A mortar-light
MORUS, MORUCA, 3. A cod
MORTUA SEYSONA, lvi. The season in which hunting was prohibited by the forest laws
MOSTARDUM, 5. Mustard
MULTON, 4. Mutton

NARRATOR, 112. A pleader
NATA, 25. A mat
NAVICULA, 228. A censer
NISUS, 179; FALCO NISUS. A sparrow-hawk or merlin, the least of the genus in Britain

OBLATOR, 148. A deacon or subdeacon who had charge of the bread and wine in the Sacrament
OCTABA, 112. An octave; the eighth or any intermediate day after some festival
ORDINARIUS, 234. Belonging to the Ordinary

PACATIO, 130. Payment
PAGIUS, 112. A young attendant of the fourth rank in the household
PALEFRIDARIUS, 28. A palfrey-man or groom
PALEFRIDUS, 8. A palfrey or saddle-horse
PALICIUM, 185; PALITIUM, 124. Paling
PANA, 122. A piece of fur.
PANAGIUM, 183. Pannage; the feeding of swine in the woods upon acorns and beech-mast in the autumn
PANERIUM, 15. A pannier
PANET(E)RIA, 20. A pantry
PANIS, 3. Bread flour; bread
PANNULUS, 113. A little piece of cloth
PANT, 185 ?
PARCHUS, 217; PARCUS, 19. A park
PASSAGIUM, 38. Passage by water
PASTILLUS, 29. Pastry; 106, a pellet of paste for fowls
PASTURA, 186. Tack of a horse at grass
PAVIOT, or PANIOT, 182 ?
PECIA, 43. A piece
PECTRONALE, 181. A poitral for the chest of a horse
P'G, 185 ?
PELLICIA, 135. A pellisse
PELLURA, 113. A skin with fur
PENTICIA, 34. A pent-house
PEREMPTORIE, 231. Peremptorily
PERFORNIRE, 114. To dress or prepare fur
PERPACATIO, 128. A settlement or payment of arrears
PERQUISITUM, 5. Anything acquired by industry
PICHERIUM, 68. A pitcher
PIKERELLUS, 35. A small pike or jack
PINCHINIS, 41; PINCURS, 141. Pinchers
PISCARIA, cliii. A fishery
PITANCIA, 152. A pittance; a present for a meal in a monastery
PIXIS, 131. A box
PLAIC, 43. Plaice
PLANCHIA, 141. A plank or board
PLANTA POMIFERA, 121. A stock grafted with the apple
PLASTRATOR, 185. A plasterer

PLATELLUS, 33. A platter
PONS TORNICIUS, 56. A turning-bridge, as upon a pivot over a fosse or canal
PORCICULUS, 39. A sucking-pig
PORCIONARIUS, 80. A portionist; one who holds a portion in the revenue of a church
PORTAGIUM, 4. Carriage by hand
POTAGIUM, 28. Pottage
POTELLUS, 37. A bottle
POTUM, 115. A pot
PREBENDA, 4. Provender; a feed of horse-corn
PRECEPTOR, 31. A superintendent of the Templars
PREEQUITATOR, 180. A postillion
PREPOSITUS, 19. A bailiff
PRINCIPIUM, 145. A term used in the schools of the university at taking a degree
PRISO, cxlvi. A prisoner
PROCESSIONALIS, sc. liber, xxxvii. A book used in ecclesiastical processions
PROCURATORIUM, 205. A proxy; a warrant to impower a proctor to act
PROFICUUS, xcvii. Profitable
PROVIDENCIA, 123. Provision
PROVISOR, xvii. One who obtained papal presentation to a benefice before it became vacant
PUCHIA, 115. A pouch
PULCINUS, 106; PULTINUS, 53. A pullet
PULLANUS, 5. A small fowl; 151, a horse-colt
PUSCULUM, 136. A buckle
PUTURA, lxxxviii. Diet

QORIUM, 182; CORIUM. Leather
QUARRERA, 94. A quarry
QUARTERIUM, xliii. A quarter measure
QUIETA CLAMANCIA, 162. Quit-claim
QUIETANCIA, 185. An acquittance
QUISSINA, 181. A cushion

RACEINA, 61. A raisin
RAGAN, 53. A skate; a fish so named probably from its deformity. Rhagwn, in Welsh, signifies a scare-crow
RASOR, 87. A farrier's file
RAYES, 113. Cloth undyed, of the original colour of the wool
RECLUSA, 150. An anchoritess
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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

IN THE ABSTRACT AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Preface, page x. line 19, *for* Michaelmas day, *read* the day after Michaelmas day; p. xxvii. l. 30, *to* Ledbury and Bosbury *add* Colwall; p. xlix. l. 19, *for* volatiles—volatilia; p. lix. l. 29, *for* Hereford—Salop; p. lxii. l. 30, note f, *for* 6 a—63 a; p. lxv. ll. 24, 25, *for* Civita Vecchia—Orvieto; p. lxxix. l. 34, *for* to—from; p. lxxxiv. l. 7, *for* 1297—about 1295; ibid. l. 8, *for* about that time—about 1297; p. lxxxviii. l. 33, *for* de Croisades—des Croisades; p. lxxxix. l. 27, *for* xxvi.—xxvii.; p. cxii. l. 5, *for* Bowdlers—Bowdler; p. cxv. l. 33, *for* Roll—Dors.‖; p. cxxi. l. 30, *for* 24—23; p. cxxxi. l. 34, *for* 78—7, 8; p. cxliv. l. 6, *for* manor—the manor; p. cli. l. 28, *for* the peasantry—the peasantry in Irchinfield; p. clii. l. 25, *for* Urban II.—Innocent II.; p. clxxvii. l. 10, *insert* *; p. cxcviii. l. 17, *for* Robert—Reginald; p. ccxvii. l. 22, *for* Kingslone—Kingeslone; p. ccxxxi. l. 6, *correct* and and; clxxxiv. *last line*, *for* 45—43.

IN THE ROLL AND ENDORSEMENT.

Page 8, line 13, *for* ij*d.* *read* iij*d.*; *ibid.* note a, *for* John—Thomas; p. 10, l. 9, *for* M—M'; p. 16, n. b, *for* two—three; p. 19, n. d, *cancel* 42 e; p. 21, n. d, *for* Early—Farley, *and so in* p. 45, n. a, *and* p. 46, n. e; p. 23, *cancel* n. d, *and see* p. 7, n. d; p. 28, n. b, *for* i—g; p. 30, l. 7, *for* xiij*s.*—xiiij*s.*; p. 31, l. 17, *after* ij*d.* *insert* q'; p. 33, l. 8, *cancel* ob.; p. 35, l. 9, *for* vj*s.*—v*s.*; *ibid.* l. 16, *for* iij*d.*—ij*d.*; p. 36, l. 4, *for* iij*d.*—iiij*d.*; p. 37, l. 16, *for* iij*s.*—iiij*s.*; *ibid.* n. a, *for* Bosbury—Bosbury or Prestbury; p. 39, l. 8, *for* j—j*d.*; *ibid.* l. 20, *for* gall—gall'; p. 40, l. 20, *for* vj*s.*—ij*s.*; p. 41, l. 13, *cancel first* ob.; p. 43, l. 7, *for* xiij*d.*—xij*d.*; *ibid.* l. 21, *cancel* q^{a}; p. 45, n. a, *for* had lately been—was about 1297; p. 47, l. 2, *for* p'cin^{s}—p'cin^{is}; *ibid.* l. 6, *for* iij*s.* ob.—iij*s.* ij*d.* ob.; p. 49, l. 18, *for* xxxiij—xxxiiij; p. 50, l. 7, *for* viiij *and* xiiij—viij *and* xij; p. 50, l. 13, *for* viiij—viij; *ibid.* l. 14, *for* xiiij—xij; p. 53, l. 21, *for* racem'—racein'; *ibid.* n. a, *after* throughout, *insert* except Good Friday; p. 54, n. c, *for* Kingeswood—Kingessuod; p. 56, l. 4, *for* ij*d.* xij*d.*; p. 60, l. 20, *for* prior—Abbat; p. 62, l. 6, *for* xxxiiij*s.*—xxiiij*s.*; *ibid.* l. 27, *for* Wollastone—Woolaston; p. 66, l. 11, *for* xxxiiij*s.*—xxiiij*s.*; p. 67, l. 10, *for first* vd.—vj*d.*; p. 77, n. b, *for* 4½—9; *ibid.* *cancel* n. f; p. 82, n. a, *for* Llewellin—Llywelyn; p. 83, n. d. *for* sixteen—thirteen; p. 84, l. 13, *for* [mac^{e}]—[mac^{a}]; *ibid.* n. g. *ditto;* p. 89, l. 6, *for* Dŷlnwe—Dŷlwne; *ibid.* n. e, *ditto*; p. 93, *last note*, *before* Mazerinis *insert* ^{d}; p. 96, n. a, *for* 1288—1289; p. 104, n. b, *for* Saturday, July 15—this

Saturday; p. 112, l. 12, *for* dd'cis—d'cis; p. 117, l. 32, *for* 1288—1289; *ibid.* l. 33, *for* 1289—1290; p. 119, l. 18, *for* Kingessuode—Kingessuod; p. 128, l. 35, *for* Stowe—Stow; p. 131, l. 19, *for* church—diocese; *ibid.* l. 37, *cancel* collars and; p. 132, subn. b, *for* suam—*suam*: p. 138, l. 27 for 59—60; p. 141, l. 16, *for* Bosbury—Prestbury; p. 142, l. 32, *for* 1289—1290; p. 144, l. 15, *for* 1289—1290; *ibid.* l. 24, *for* Lyndwood—John of Atho; p. 150, l. 22, *for* right—mode; p. 153, l. 2, *for* Hop'—Hap'; p. 164, l. 11, *for* Joanna—Margaret; p. 165, l. 13, *cancel* now; p. 170, l. 32, *for* 64—44; p. 173, l. 11, *for* Nicholas V.—Nicholas III.; p. 177, l. 18, *for* 60—61; p. 179, l. 22, *for* 59—60; p. 180, l. 22, *for* before—before and after; p. 183, l. 29, *for* 60—61; p. 185, l. 28, *for* 69—61; p. 187, l. 10, *for* 68—63; p. 194, l. 24, *after* nowhere, *insert* except once as a witness.

In the words Lantony and Landaff the double l is occasionally dropped by modern writers.

In the head lines of pp. 68, 70, 72, 82, 84, 86, 88, 102, 104, *for* 1259 *read* 1290.

Some errors in the original castings have been allowed to stand.

THE

CAMDEN SOCIETY,

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF

EARLY HISTORICAL AND LITERARY REMAINS.

At a General Meeting of the Camden Society held at the Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Wednesday, the 2nd day of May, 1855,

JOHN BRUCE, ESQ., THE DIRECTOR, IN THE CHAIR,

THE Director having opened the business of the Meeting,

The Secretary read the Report of the Council agreed upon at their meeting of the 18th of April, whereupon it was

Resolved, That the Report be received and adopted, and that the Thanks of the Society be given to the Director and Council for their services.

Thanks were then voted to the Local Secretaries and to the Editors of the Publications for the past year.

The Secretary then read the Report of the Auditors, agreed upon at their Meeting of the 18th of April, whereupon it was

Resolved, That the Report of the Auditors be received and adopted, and that the Thanks of the Meeting be given to the Auditors for their trouble.

Thanks having been voted to the Treasurer and Secretary, the Meeting proceeded to the Election of Officers, when

The Right Hon. Lord Braybrooke, F.S.A.

was elected President of the Society; and

William Henry Blaauw, Esq. M.A., F.S.A.
John Bruce, Esq. F.S.A.
John Payne Collier, Esq. V.P.S.A.
William Durrant Cooper, Esq. F.S.A.
Bolton Corney, Esq. M.R.S.L.
James Crosby, Esq. F.S.A.
Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S., Dir.S.A.
The Rev. Lambert B. Larking, M.A.
Peter Levesque, Esq. F.S.A.
Frederick Ouvry, Esq. Treas. S.A.
The Right Hon. Lord Viet. Strangford, F.R.S., V.P.S.A.
William John Thoms, Esq. F.S.A.
Albert Way, Esq. M.A., F.S.A.
His Excellency M. Van de Weyer, and
The Rev. John Webb, M.A., F.S.A.

were elected as the Council of the Society; and

George R. Corner, Esq. F.S.A.
Robert Porrett, Esq. F.S.A., and
William Tite, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.

were elected Auditors of the Society; for the year then next ensuing.

Thanks were then voted to the Director for his able conduct in the Chair, and the great interest always taken by him in the proceedings of the Society.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS, 1855.

At a Meeting of the Council of the Camden Society, held at No. 25, Parliament Street, Westminster, on Wednesday, the 9th day of May, the Council having proceeded to the Election of Officers,—

John Bruce, Esq. was elected Director; John Payne Collier, Esq. Treasurer; and William J. Thoms, Esq. Secretary, for the year next ensuing.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

OF

THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,

ELECTED 2nd MAY, 1854.

The Council of the Camden Society, elected on the 2nd of May, 1854, have pleasure in reporting the continued well-being of the Society, and that the sum invested in the names of the Trustees has been increased during the past year from £942 11*s.* to £974 16*s.* 3*d.*

The Council announce with great regret the loss of the following Members by death:—

Bindon Blood, Esq.
William Brockedon, Esq. F.R.S.
John Burder, Esq. F.S.A.
Francis George Coleridge, Esq.
Mr. Serjeant D'Oyly.
Rev. John Joseph Ellis, M.A., F.S.A.
Hastings Elwin, Esq.
Copley Fielding, Esq.
George Folliott, Esq.
The Hon. and Very Rev. G. Neville Grenville.
The Ven. Archdeacon Hare.
The Rev. Martin Joseph Routh, D.D.
Lord Rutherfurd.
The Rev. Thomas Wintle.
Mr. Henry Whitmore.
Thomas Windus, Esq. F.S.A.

Whilst our numbers are thus thinned by death, it is an encouraging circumstance that during the past year several permanent Libraries have been added to the list of Subscribers, and the Members would do well to procure such subscriptions whenever possible. An annual subscription is thus obtained, which is not likely to be withdrawn as long as the Society continues its useful labours; and the great object for which the Society

was instituted, namely, that of securing and making generally known inedited historical materials, is obviously most materially promoted when our publications are placed on the shelves of such institutions.

The works which have been issued during the past year have been—

Grants, &c. from the Crown during the Reign of Edward the Fifth, from the original Docket-book, MS. Harl. 433. And two Speeches for opening Parliament, by John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Chancellor; with an Historical Introduction, by JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq.

The period of our history to which this volume refers is still one of the most obscure. The Council believe that the materials here collected and edited with great care throw new and valuable light upon it.

The Camden Miscellany, Volume the Third, containing:—1. Papers relating to Proceedings in the County of Kent, 1642–46. Edited by RICHARD ALMACK, Esq. 2 Historical Poems of the Sixteenth Century. From the Norfolk MSS. in the Bodleian Library. Edited by J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq. 3. A Relation of Abuses committed against the Commonwealth, 1629. Edited by Sir FREDERICK MADDEN. 4. Inventory of the Wardrobe, Plate, &c. of Henry FitzRoy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset; and an Inventory of the Wardrobe, &c. of Katharine of Arragon, at Baynard's Castle. With a Memoir, and several original Letters of the Duke of Richmond. Edited by JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq.

Looking at the varied and interesting nature of the several contributions to this volume, the Council feel confident that the Third Volume of the Miscellany will be received by the Society with the same satisfaction which was so generally expressed by the Members on the receipt of the former Volumes.

These will shortly be followed by

The Household Roll of Richard Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, in the years 1289 and 1290. Edited by Rev. JOHN WEBB, M.A. Vol. II. completing the work.

The completion of this valuable contribution to the ecclesiastical history of the Diocese of Hereford, and to our knowledge of the social condition of the thirteenth century, has been delayed by the care which the Editor has bestowed upon the Glossary, Index, &c.

With respect to the works in preparation, the Council report that the first of these—

Extent of the Estates of the Hospitalers in England. Taken under the direction of Prior Philip de Thame, A.D. 1338; from the original in the Public Library at Malta. Edited by the Rev. LAMBERT B. LARKING, M.A.

may very shortly be expected, the last of the proof-sheets which have been sent to Malta for collation with the original MS. having just been returned. The Council avail themselves of this opportunity of expressing

their sense of the service rendered to the Camden Society by William Winthrop, Esq. and Dr. Vella, who have so kindly and ably discharged the office of collators.

The valuable transcripts of the

Diplomatic Correspondence of Mons. d'Inteville, Mons. de Chatillon, and Mons. de Marillac, successively French Ambassadors in England during the reign of Henry VIII.

have also been placed in the hands of His Excellency M. Van de Weyer, the Belgian Minister, who has kindly undertaken to edit them. The Council feel assured that a volume of such materials, edited by a gentleman so peculiarly qualified for the task, will be received with great satisfaction by the Society.

The Council have added to the list of Suggested Publications:—

A Diary of Mr. Henry Townsend, of Elmley Court, Worcester, for the years 1640—42, 1656—61, from the original MS. in the possession of Sir T. Phillipps, Bart. To be edited by Mrs. Everett Green.

Diary of Mr. Rouse, from 1625 to 1643, from a MS. in the possession of Dawson Turner, Esq. To be edited by Mrs. Everett Green.

An English Chronicle, of the reigns of Richard II. Henry IV. Henry V. and Henry VI. To be edited by the Rev. J. Silvester Davies, M.A., from the original MS. in his own possession.

Several other valuable suggestions are still under consideration, and especially one upon which the Council are desirous to know the opinion of the Members. With the view, on the one hand, of making the vast mass of historical materials to be found in the publications of the Society more easily accessible, and, on the other hand, of giving completeness to the long series of works already published, the Council have under consideration the subject of publishing a copious and well-digested general Index. As this would of course be attended with considerable expense, the Council will be glad to receive from the Members any expression of opinion as to how far they would agree with the Council, if, upon full consideration, they came to the conclusion that a portion of the present investment would be judiciously applied if devoted to the promotion of this important object. Letters upon this subject should be addressed to the Secretary.

By Order of the Council,

John Bruce, Director.
William J. Thoms, Secretary.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS,

DATED APRIL 18TH, 1855.

WE, the Auditors appointed to audit the Accounts of the Camden Society, report to the Society, that the Treasurer has exhibited to us an account of the Receipts and Expenditure from the 1st of April, 1854, to the 31st of March, 1855, and that we have examined the said accounts, with the vouchers relating thereto, and find the same to be correct and satisfactory.

And we further report, that the following is an Abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure during the period we have mentioned.

RECEIPTS.	£.	s.	d.
Balance of last year's account	228	3	9
Received on account of Members whose Subscriptions were in arrear at the last Audit	61	0	0
The like on account of Subscriptions due 1st May last (1854) ..	378	0	0
The like on account of Subscriptions due 1st May next	18	0	0
By Compositions received from 3 Members	30	0	0
One year's dividend on £942 11*s.* 0*d.* 3 per Cent. Consols, &c.	26	12	6
By Sale of Publications	81	4	9
	£823	1	0

EXPENDITURE.	£.	s.	d.
By purchase of Stock	30	0	0
Paid for printing and paper of 750 copies of the "Roll of Bishop Swinfield," Vol. I.	150	7	6
The like for 750 copies of "Grants of Edward V."	77	16	0
Paid for binding 700 copies of "Lady Brilliana Harley"	30	16	0
The like for 700 copies of "Roll of Bishop Swinfield" .	25	4	0
The like for 50 Vols. Miscellaneous	4	4	0
Paid for Transcripts	17	8	0
Paid for Miscellaneous Printing	7	15	0
Paid for delivery and transmission of the "Roll of Bishop Swinfield" and "Grants of Edward V.," with paper for wrappers	15	4	5
Paid for Advertisements	2	12	6
One year's payment for keeping Accounts and General Correspondence of the Society	52	10	0
Paid for expenses of last General Meeting	2	7	0
Paid for postage, carriage of parcels, and other petty cash expenses	8	8	9
	424	13	2
Balance.....	398	7	10
	£823	1	0

And we, the Auditors, further state, that the Treasurer has reported to us, that over and above the present balance of £398 7*s.* 10*d.* there are outstanding various subscriptions of Foreign Members, of Members resident at a distance from London, &c. which the Treasurer sees no reason to doubt will shortly be received.

WM. SALT,
JAS. CROSBY, } Auditors.

18*th April*, 1855.

WORKS OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

For the Subscription of 1838-9.

1. Restoration of King Edward IV.
2. Kyng Johan, by Bishop Bale.
3. Deposition of Richard II.
4. Plumpton Correspondence.
5. Anecdotes and Traditions.

For 1839.

6. Political Songs.
7. Hayward's Annals of Elizabeth.
8. Ecclesiastical Documents.
9. Norden's Description of Essex.
10. Warkworth's Chronicle.
11. Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder.

For 1840.

12. The Egerton Papers.
13. Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda.
14. Irish Narratives, 1641 and 1690.
15. Rishanger's Chronicle.

For 1841.

16. Poems of Walter Mapes.
17. Travels of Nicander Nucius.
18. Three Metrical Romances.
19. Diary of Dr. John Dee.

For 1842.

20. Apology for the Lollards.
21. Rutland Papers.
22. Diary of Bishop Cartwright.
23. Letters of Eminent Literary Men.
24. Proceedings against Alice Kyteler.

For 1843.

25. Promptorium Parvulorum: Tom. I.
26. Suppression of the Monasteries.
27. Leycester Correspondence.

For 1844.

28. French Chronicle of London.
29. Polydore Vergil.
30. The Thornton Romances.
31. Verney's Notes of Long Parliament.

For 1845.

32. Autobiography of Sir J. Bramston.
33. Correspondence of Duke of Perth.
34. Liber de Antiquis Legibus.
35. The Chronicle of Calais.

For 1846.

36. Polydore Vergil's History, Vol. I.
37. Italian Relation of England.
38. Church of Middleham.
39. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. I.

For 1847.

40. Life of Lord Grey of Wilton.
41. Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq.
42. Diary of Henry Machyn.

For 1848.

43. Visitation of Huntingdonshire.
44. Obituary of Richard Smyth.
45. Twysden on the Government of England.

For 1849.

46. Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.
47. Chronicon Petroburgense.
48. Queen Jane and Queen Mary.

For 1850.

49. Bury Wills and Inventories.
50. Mapes de Nugis Curialium.
51. Pilgrimage of Sir R. Guylford.

For 1851.

52. Secret Services of Chas. II. & Jas. II.
53. Chronicle of Grey Friars of London.
54. Promptorium Parvulorum, Tom. II.

For 1852.

55. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. II.
56. Verney Papers to 1639.
57. The Ancren Riwle.

For 1853.

58. Letters of Lady B. Harley.
59. Roll of Bishop Swinfield. Vol. I.

Works in the Press.

Extent of the Estates of the Hospitalers in England. Taken under the direction of Prior Philip de Thame, A.D. 1338; from the original in the Public Library at Malta. Edited by the Rev. LAMBERT B. LARKING, M.A. *(Nearly ready.)*

The Romance of Blonde of Oxford and Jehan of Dammartin. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. *(Nearly ready.)*

English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. Editing by the Rev. J. SILVESTER DAVIES, M.A.

The Domesday of St. Paul's; a Description of the Manors belonging to the Church of St. Paul's in London in the year 1222. Edited by the VEN. WILLIAM HALE, M.A., Archdeacon of London.

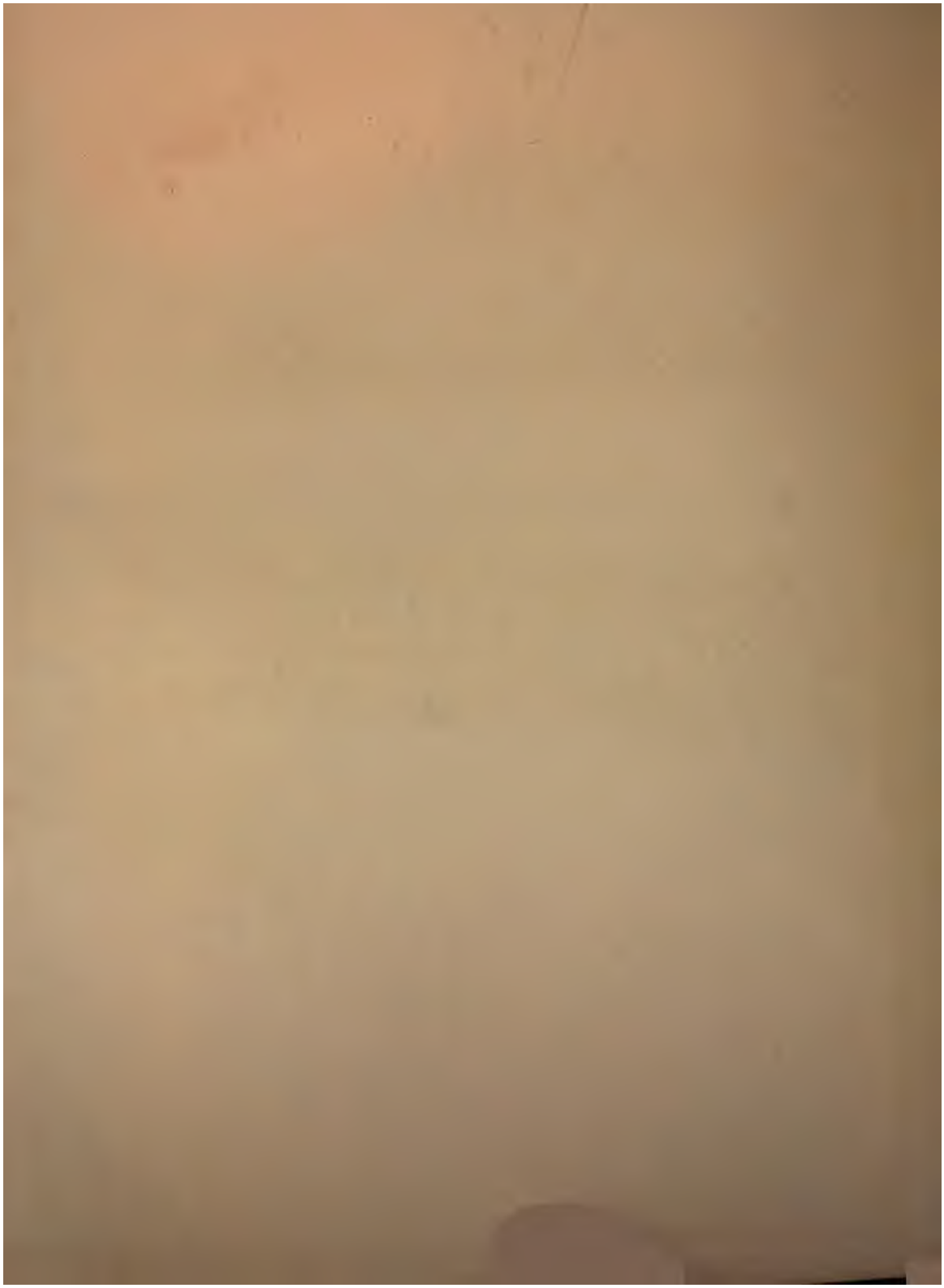
Trevelyan Papers. Edited by J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., V.P.S.A.

[*No Books are delivered until the Subscription for the Year has been paid.*]

The subscription of One Pound is due in advance on the 1st of May in every year, and is received by Messrs. Nichols, 25, Parliament Street, Westminster; or by the several Local Secretaries. New Members are admitted at the meetings of the Council, held on the first Wednesday in every Month. A Composition for future Subscriptions may be made by the payment of Ten Pounds in addition to the Subscription of the current year. The Compositions have been funded in the Three per Cents. to an amount exceeding 940*l.*

W. J. THOMS, Secretary.

25, *Parliament Street, Westminster,*
July, 1855.



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